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FOUR LINCOLN FIRSTS*

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I

Subtreasury Speech, December 26, 1839

IN Illinois, a century ago, politics centered at Springfield. There lived such aggressive leaders as Stephen A. Douglas, John Calhoun, John T. Stuart, E. D. Baker, and Abraham Lincoln, while others equally prominent and mettlesome were frequently attracted to the state capitol by the sessions of the legislature and the courts. Given an occasion, there was certain to be speechmaking, and then as now, speeches got into print.

In the fall of 1839, the time was ripe for political oratory. Martin Van Buren, in the White House, was unpopular, and the Whigs of Illinois were elated by the prospect of toppling him

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from what they were pleased to call his throne. The President, however, had staunch defenders, unafraid to meet his critics in open argument. In November, when a number of leaders of both parties were brought together in Springfield by a court session, a nightly debate of nearly a week's duration took place. A month later, after the opening of the biennial session of the legislature had brought the politicians together again, the performance was repeated. One of the Whig speakers on both occasions was Abraham Lincoln, then serving his third term as a member of the House of Representatives from Sangamon County.

Lincoln's speech in the second debate, delivered on the night of December 26, 1839, was an argument against the subtreasury, presented so effectively that the Whigs decided to print it in pamphlet form and distribute it as a campaign document. It was the first of his speeches to be accorded this distinction. Because of this fact, and because the form in which most collectors have seen it has mystified them, it deserves to be included in this discussion.

The mystery I shall state in the words of a dealer of long experience. I quote from a letter received some years ago:

> I have enclosed in your package today a copy of Fish 518 of which I want your opinion. This piece, the last owner told me, came out of John Hay's library, having been presented to him by Thos. J. Henderson.
>
> According to my records you and Governor Horner are the only collectors that have it. It is on the want lists of all the others. Stewart never saw it nor McLellan.
>
> But what is it? Obviously, it was not printed in 1839. Is this Henderson the old time Illinois man who was a Congressman in 1874 when he was 50 years old? And where did he get it? It is on pulp paper which was not used until the middle 80s.
>
> It certainly is a good piece but I suspect it is comparatively modern. If you throw any light on it I will appreciate it.

Light came not from me but from Thomas J. Henderson himself, who had been, as my correspondent surmised, a prominent Illinois Republican congressman. Henderson died in February, 1911. Two months later a sketch of his life was published in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society.[1] In that sketch sev-

[1] Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 67-81.

eral paragraphs were quoted from the manuscript of a speech which death had prevented him from delivering on Lincoln's Birthday. There he related that his father — like Lincoln, a Whig member of the Illinois legislature — had been present at the political debate in Springfield in December, 1839. Henderson wrote:

> Abraham Lincoln made a speech on the Whig side, replying to Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lamborn, which was of so much ability and force that when the Legislature met, the Whig members had the speech printed in pamphlet form as a campaign document, and when my father came home from Springfield he brought a number of copies of the speech with him, and attracted as I was, by the eloquent peroration of Mr. Lincoln's speech, although but a boy, I preserved a copy of the speech and committed the peroration to memory. . . . Some years ago I brought with me to Washington City the copy of this old speech, which I had preserved and still keep, and at his request, I permitted John G. Nicolay to copy and publish it in one of the last volumes of his and John Hay's life of Lincoln.
>
> If I had not preserved this pamphlet copy of Mr. Lincoln's speech, when a boy, I have good reason to believe the speech would have been lost, for a few years ago at the request of some friends, I had a reprint of the speech made by Gibson & Sons, in Washington, and presented a copy of it to John Hay, then Secretary of State of the United States, and when I did so, I asked him the question, whether he or John Nicolay in their researches for material for the life and speeches of Abraham Lincoln, had found any other copy of the speech than the one I permitted them to copy and publish, and he said, no, they never found any other copy.

Even without Henderson's copy of the original pamphlet, the text of Lincoln's Subtreasury Speech would have been preserved, for it was published in the *Sangamo Journal* before it was issued as a pamphlet. Nevertheless, the original edition is very rare. The Illinois State Historical Library, however, has an uncut copy in its collection. It is a ten-page pamphlet which measures 7 by 9¾ inches, and has the following caption title:

> Speech of Mr. Lincoln, | At a Political Discussion, | In the Hall of the House of Representatives, December, 1839. | At Springfield, Illinois.

The Henderson reprint also has ten pages but is somewhat smaller, measuring 6¾ by 9⅜ inches. It too has a caption title, identical with that of the original edition. The paper, however, is wood pulp, and the type much too modern for the year 1839.

Paper and type should enable all except tyros to recognize the reprint for what it is, but for anyone so unsure of himself as to need other means of identification, it may be noted that on p. 10 of the reprint there are 28 lines, instead of 33 as in the original.

II

The "House Divided" Speech

Disdaining strict accuracy, we may say, with Alexandre Dumas, "twenty years after." It is the night of the 16th of June, 1858, and Abraham Lincoln is about to address the members of the Republican State Convention, who that afternoon had selected him as the man in the party most likely to defeat Stephen A. Douglas for election to the United States Senate. The crowd in the Hall of the House of Representatives listens intently as he begins slowly and with emphasis:

> If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.
>
> We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.
>
> Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.
>
> In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

Then came the paraphrase[2] which furnished the title by which the speech has ever since been known: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

It was a bold speech and a good speech, and because of its prediction of certain strife, it aroused as much controversy as anything Abraham Lincoln ever said. For these reasons the identification of the first separate publication of the speech would be a matter of interest. But there is an additional reason for establishing the original text. In Lincoln's published writings the "House

[2] "If a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand." Mark. III, 25.

Divided" speech is printed in straight roman type, and divided into orthodox paragraphs. In all contemporary printings, on the other hand, the text is heavily italicized and set in very short paragraphs. The effect of the two different typographical styles upon a reader is materially different. Which conveys the impression Lincoln desired?

Very soon after the adjournment of the convention, its proceedings were published by the proprietors of the *Illinois State Journal*. This pamphlet, octavo,[3] with twelve pages, has this cover title:

Proceedings | of the | Republican State Convention, | held at | Springfield, Illinois, | June 16, 1858. | [Ornamental rule] | Springfied: | Bailhache & Baker, Printers.

Except for the cover, three short paragraphs on p. 9, and half a column on p. 12, all type used in this pamphlet was lifted from the June 17 and June 18 issues of the *Illinois State Journal*—the convention proceedings from the issue of the 17th, the speeches of Lincoln and Gustave Koerner from that of the next day. The use of the newspaper type distinguishes this from a second edition which has the same title and the same general appearance, but which was completely reset. One may assume, I think, that the publishers, anticipating no extraordinary demand, distributed the type after one printing, and then found that there was a large enough market to justify another edition. Fortunately, for purposes of easy identification, the typesetters had difficulty with the word "Springfield" in the title of both editions. In the first, they spelled it "Springfied" in the next to the last line; in the second, it was spelled "Spingfield" in the fifth line. Typographical errors have their uses.

Among those in attendance at the Republican State Convention was C. W. Waite, editor of *The True Republican* of Sycamore, De Kalb County, Illinois. Waite was impressed by the convention,

[3] The Illinois State Historical Library has three copies of this pamphlet, all uncut. They measure, in inches: 6⅜ x 9¾, 6¼ x 10⅛, and 7½ x 10¼.

and ran a four-column account of it in the first issue of his paper to be published after his return home — that for June 22.[4] In that account is this sentence:

> As Mr. Lincoln's speech was phonographically reported, we shall attempt to give no abstract of it this week, but will present it entire to our readers in our next issue.

True to its promise, *The True Republican* for June 29, 1858, carried the text of Lincoln's speech. With it appeared this editorial endorsement:

> Of course every Republican will carefully read the speech of Hon. Abram Lincoln, which we publish in another column. It was reported phonographically, with all the emphases which the distinguished speaker made accurately marked. As we glance over the emphasized portions, every gesture is vividly recalled to our mind, and the convincing and earnest tones again ring in our ear.

Perhaps the demand for copies of the paper containing Lincoln's speech outran the supply; perhaps it was simply Waite's enthusiasm that led him to lift the type from his issue of June 29 and print Lincoln's speech separately in a sextodecimo pamphlet of 16 pages. Whatever the reason, the honor of issuing the first exclusive publication of one of Lincoln's greatest speeches must go to him and to the Sycamore *True Republican.*[5]

Here is the full title — a cover title — of one of the very rarest items in Lincolniana:

> Speech | of | Hon. Abram Lincoln, | Before the | Republican State Convention, | June 16, 1858. | "The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail — if | we stand firm, we shall not fail." | [Rule] | Sycamore. | O. P. Bassett, Pr., True Republican Office | 1858.

Comparison of texts poses an interesting question. The *True Republican* text is inferior to that of the *Proceedings* — on p. 4 of the former two paragraphs are transposed, on p. 10 two lines are dropped out, and not quite so many words are italicized. Even so,

[4] *The True Republican* was a weekly.

[5] The edition of the "House Divided" speech brought out by the Albany *Evening Journal — Evening Journal Tracts No. 7* — was published during the campaign of 1860. The text of that pamphlet is something of a mystery. In italics, it is identical with the *Proceedings*, but there are important and unaccountable variations in language.

in paragraphing and italics the degree of similarity between the two texts is too great to be accidental. One must conclude, with Douglas C. McMurtrie,[6] that the compositor who set the *True Republican* type had before him either a copy of the *Illinois State Journal* for June 18, 1858, or one of the *Proceedings* pamphlets.

Yet Waite insisted that the speech was "phonographically"—that is, stenographically—reported, and certainly led his readers to believe that he printed it from a shorthand record. On the other hand, William H. Herndon stated that Lincoln wrote the "House Divided" speech

> on stray envelopes and scraps of paper, as ideas suggested themselves, putting them into that miscellaneous and convenient receptacle, his hat. As the convention drew near he copied the whole on connected sheets, carefully revising every line and sentence, and fastened them together, for reference during the delivery of the speech, and for publication.[7]

Horace White was even more explicit:

> I sat a short distance from Mr. Lincoln when he delivered the "house-divided-against-itself" speech, on the 17th of June. This was delivered from manuscript, and was the only one I ever heard him deliver in that way. When it was concluded he put the manuscript in my hands and asked me to go to the *State Journal* office and read the proof of it. I think it had already been set in type. Before I had finished this task Mr. Lincoln himself came into the composing room of the *State Journal* and looked over the revised proofs. He said to me that he had taken a great deal of pains with this speech, and that he wanted it to go before the people just as he had prepared it.[8]

Here, apparently, is contradiction, one man asserting that the speech was printed from a stenographic report, others that it was printed from manuscript copy. The differences between the *True Republican* and *Illinois State Journal* texts are slight, but in view of Lincoln's insistence that the speech be printed accurately, the truth of the matter is worth establishing.

[6] *"A House Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand" By Abraham Lincoln The Text of This Celebrated Speech as Originally Written, Paragraphed, Italicized & Proofread by its Author, Printed in its Entirety for the First Time since its Contemporary Publication. With an Introduction by Douglas C. McMurtrie.* Chicago and New York, 1936.

[7] W. H. Herndon. *Life of Lincoln*, New York, 1930, p. 324.

[8] Herndon & Weik. *Abraham Lincoln, The True Story of a Great Life*, New York, 1893, II, p. 92.

On reflection, there appears to be no real contradiction. The proceedings of the convention were reported stenographically. That we know. Waite, therefore, undoubtedly saw a stenographer at work, perhaps saw him taking notes while Lincoln was speaking. In all probability, he assumed that the *Journal's* report of the speech came from these notes. He was simply mistaken.

III

The Cooper Union Address

Students of Lincoln's life are agreed that his address at Cooper Institute on February 27, 1860, was essential to his nomination for the Presidency. Without the favorable impression that he created on that occasion, it is unlikely that his aspirations would have been taken seriously. And of major importance in creating that impression were the thousands of pamphlet copies of his speech distributed after its delivery. A study of those pamphlets, therefore, is of historical as well as bibliographical importance.

The *New York Tribune*, most influential newspaper in the country, printed Lincoln's speech in full in its issue for February 28, 1860. In that same issue appeared an editorial, presumably by Horace Greeley, praising the speech and speaker in glowing terms:

> The Speech of Abraham Lincoln at the Cooper Institute last evening was one of the happiest and most convincing political arguments ever made in this City, and was addressed to a crowded and most appreciating audience. Since the days of Clay and Webster, no man has spoken to a larger assemblage of the intellect and mental culture of our City. Mr. Lincoln is one of Nature's orators, using his rare powers solely and effectively to elucidate and to convince, though their inevitable effect is to delight and electrify as well. We present herewith a very full and accurate report of this Speech; yet the tones, the gestures, the kindling eye and the mirth provoking look, defy the reporter's skill. The vast assemblage frequently rang with cheers and shouts of applause, which were prolonged and intensified at the close. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New-York audience. . . .
>
> We shall soon issue his Speech of last night in pamphlet form for cheap circulation.

In this same issue of the *New York Tribune* appeared an advertisement which had been running since February 21—an advertisement of *The Tribune Campaign Tracts*. Listed were No. 1, William H. Seward's "Irrepressible Conflict" Speech; and No. 2, Henry Wilson's speech entitled, "Democratic Leaders for Disunion." Unnumbered, but advertised as available, was Cassius M. Clay's speech at Cooper Institute, February 17, 1860; while it was also announced that orders for Helper's *Impending Crisis* could be filled on the day of receipt.

On March 1 this notice, which was kept standing for months, was enlarged by the addition of No. 3—Seward's speech of February 29, 1860, in the U. S. Senate. On March 6 it was enlarged again—this time with the announcement of No. 4—"Speech of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, delivered at the Cooper Institute." An editorial in the same issue contained this statement: "The Speech of ABRAHAM LINCOLN of Illinois, at the Cooper Institute in this City . . . has just been issued in pamphlet form on large type at this office. . . ." (Dealers please note: price was 4¢ a single copy, 25¢ per dozen, $1.25 per 100, $10.00 per 1,000.)

The *New York Tribune*, therefore, had Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech in pamphlet form on sale just eight days after its delivery.

But what of other editions of the speech, issued by other publishers? At least a dozen editions were printed in 1860. Not long ago, when I asked a veteran bookman for his opinion about them, his reply was: "Which of these was the first is anybody's guess."

The guessing, however, can be very greatly restricted. The contents or imprints of several prove that they were published after Lincoln's nomination. They, therefore, are eliminated as possibilities. Moreover, the publication dates of most of those which remain can be established definitely or approximately.

Closest in time to Tribune Tract No. 4 was probably the *Chicago Press & Tribune's* edition with the title, *Press & Tribune Document No. 1*. This paper printed Lincoln's speech in its issue of March 2, 1860, and praised it editorially. On March 9 it an-

nounced, under the heading, "Press and Tribune Documents for 1860": "We shall immediately issue in pamphlet form the two MOST EFFECTIVE political documents of the year—the speeches of Abraham Lincoln at the Cooper Institute, New York, and of William H. Seward in the Senate of the United States. . . ." I have not been able to establish the exact date of publication, but even if the pamphlet came out within a day or two, it was later than Tribune Tract No. 4 by several days.

In Lincoln's home, the *Illinois State Journal* printed the Cooper Union Address on March 3. On March 13 it ran this notice under the heading, "Campaign Documents": "We shall shortly issue a revised pamphlet edition of Mr. LINCOLN's Great New York Speech, printed with large type and on good paper. Also Mr. Seward's late speech in the United States Senate. . . ." Although this notice headed the city column, which was devoted to live local news and was changed daily, it was kept standing until April 3, and then dropped. Not until April 24 did the following notice appear, also at the head of the city column:

JOURNAL CAMPAIGN DOCUMENTS

No. 1.

A vindication of the principles of the Republican party, embraced in the speech of Abraham Lincoln, delivered in Cooper Institute, New York City, Feb. 27, 1860. Now ready.

Evening Journal Tract No. 5, the *Albany Evening Journal's* pamphlet edition of the Cooper Union Address, was published at about the same time. Tract No. 2, Seward's speech of February 29, was advertised at the paper's masthead on and after March 8, but the notice was not enlarged to include Tract No. 5—Lincoln's speech—until April 23. Another newspaper publication of the speech—Detroit Tribune Tract No. 5—came at least weeks later. The *Detroit Tribune* did not publish Lincoln's speech in its news columns until May 28, and an editorial reference in the same issue proves that at that date the paper had it available in no other form.

Only one other edition of the Cooper Union Address can be considered as a possible contestant of Tribune Tract No. 4's claim to primacy.[9] That is a sixteen-page octavo pamphlet with the following cover title:

The Republican Party Vindicated —The Demands | of the South Explained. | [Rule] | Speech | of | Hon. Abraham Lincoln, | of Illinois, | at the | Cooper Institute | New York City. | [Rule] | Washington: | 1860.

In addition to the text of the address, this pamphlet contains a reporter's account of the extemporaneous speeches made at the meeting by Horace Greeley, James W. Nye, James A. Briggs, and Judge Culver.

While the *New York Tribune* was the source of most printings of the Cooper Union Address, the text of *The Republican Party Vindicated* came from the *New York Herald*, which published Lincoln's speech in full in its issue for February 28. The *Tribune* and *Herald* versions, moreover, vary in several particulars. Most of the variations are of little consequence, but two are important. Between the second and third sentences in the paragraph beginning, "To enumerate. . ." as the speech is printed in *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, V, p. 301, *The Republican Party Vindicated* (*Herald* text) has this sentence: "He was a Georgian, too." It also has this passage after the sentence, "The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled," V, p. 315: "You did not sweep New York, and New Jersey, and Wisconsin, and Minnesota, precisely like fire sweeps over the prairie in high wind. You are still drumming at this idea. Go on with it. If you think you can, by slandering a woman, make her love you, or by villifying a man make him vote with you, go on and try it." The passage was punctuated, if the reporter is to be believed, with "laughter," and "boisterous laughter and prolonged applause."

This text, moreover, was the one used by the Republican Exec-

[9] I am not ignoring *New-Yorker Demokrat Flugblatt No. 4* — a German translation of the Cooper Union Address. The fact that the other titles in the series were identical with those of the Tribune Tracts indicates that all were German translations of the *New York Tribune* campaign documents. I have been unable to locate a file of the *New-Yorker Demokrat*.

utive Congressional Committee in the edition of the Cooper Union Speech which it published and circulated. It was also used in the party pamphlet that contains the speech of John Hickman, July 24, 1860, in addition to Lincoln's address. The fact that both these pamphlets also have the title, *The Republican Party Vindicated—The Demands of the South Explained*, which was used, I think, in no other edition, may mean that all three were published at about the same time. If that is the case, the first Washington edition undoubtedly came out after Lincoln's nomination. On the other hand, the use of the same title may be without significance as far as the date of publication is concerned. The best reason for assigning priority to Tribune Tract No. 4 lies in the fact that in 1860, New York and Washington were at least a day apart as far as mail was concerned. Presumably, the *New York Tribune* got out Tribune Tract No. 4 as soon as possible after the delivery of Lincoln's speech. If *The Republican Party Vindicated* was also issued as soon as possible, it would have been at least a day later.

The textual differences between the three Washington pamphlets and all others raise the question of the correct text of the address. According to Lincoln's own statement,[10] Tribune Tract No. 4 was published without supervision on his part, but Journal Campaign Document No. 1—the Springfield publication—had the benefit of his own "hasty supervising." The text of the latter, however, is identical with the former; the only differences are in spelling and capitalization. However, the Nott-Brainerd edition, published by The Young Men's Republican Union of New York, differs from all earlier editions in one important respect—the correction of a factual statement—and in several minor matters of phraseology. Because Lincoln read the proofs of this edition,[11]

[10] Lincoln to Charles C. Nott, Springfield, May 31, 1860. Gilbert A. Tracy. *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 149-51.

[11] *The Address of the Hon. Abraham Lincoln . . . With Notes by Charles C. Nott & Cephas Brainerd.* New York, 1860. The Editors' Preface is dated September, 1860. A facsimile reprint of this pamphlet, with an added Introduction and the Nott-Lincoln correspondence, was published in 1907.

and carried on a correspondence with one of its editors, this is the authoritative text. Fortunately, in the case of the Cooper Union Address, the editors of Lincoln's writings departed from their customary practice of following the poorest possible version. Both Nicolay & Hay and Lapsley adhered to the Nott-Brainerd text—the latter even to the reproduction of italics.

IV

The Gettysburg Address

Beyond question, Lincoln's greatest speech—perhaps the greatest speech in the English language—is the Gettysburg Address.

Collectors have generally agreed that the Gettysburg Address was first put into print, aside from the newspapers, in a 48-page booklet entitled *An Oration Delivered on the Battlefield of Gettysburg . . .*, by Edward Everett, published by Baker & Godwin, New York, 1863, although two Boston publications[12] have had some stout champions. But one of the fascinations of bibliography comes from the possibility that at any time a new discovery may overturn accepted beliefs. Such a discovery was provided by the Lincoln Collection of the late Governor Henry Horner, which is now a valued possession of the Illinois State Historical Library.

In this collection is a 16-page pamphlet, uncut, unopened, measuring 7 by 10 ½ inches, with the following cover title:

The Gettysburg Solemnities. | [Double rule] | Dedication | of | The National Cemetery | at | Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, | November 19, 1863, | with the | Oration of Hon. Edward Everett, | Speech of President Lincoln, | &c., &c., &c. | [Ornamental rule] | Published at the Washington Chronicle Office.

This pamphlet contains a description of the Gettysburg battlefield, an account of the activities at Gettysburg on November 18

[12] *Address of His Excellency John A. Andrew, to the Two Branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, January 8, 1864*, Boston, 1864, and *Addresses of Hon. Edward Everett, at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg . . .*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1864.

and 19, the text of the short speech which Lincoln delivered there on the evening of the 18th, Edward Everett's address, and Lincoln's speech of dedication. Except for a few column inches, the pamphlet was printed from type lifted from the issues of the *Washington Chronicle* for November 18, 19, 20, and 21. Included in the newly set material was the text of Lincoln's speech—the one feature of the pamphlet that gives it distinction.

(Curiously, the *Washington Chronicle* failed to publish Lincoln's speech in its daily issues. Everett's oration was printed in the issue for November 20; in that of the following day appeared dispatches describing the ceremonies and concluding: "The President then delivered his address; which, though short, glittered with gems, evincing the gentleness and goodness of heart peculiar to him, and will receive the attention and command the admiration of all the tens of thousands who will read it.")

When newspaper type has been used for a separate publication, one may safely assume that the separate publication was issued with little delay. In this case, however, we need not rely on assumptions. In the *Washington Chronicle* for November 20 appeared this notice: "Edward Everett's Great Oration and the Proceedings of the Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, will be issued tomorrow in pamphlet form.—For Sale at the CHRONICLE OFFICE." On the next day the same notice appeared without change. Since that was the day—November 21—when the *Chronicle* merely mentioned Lincoln's speech, I think we may assume that the publication of the pamphlet was held up until the text of his address was available. If this assumption is correct, the pamphlet was not published before November 22, but there can be little doubt that it was issued then, or, at the latest, a day or two afterward. Certainly it appeared long before the carefully printed, 48-page booklet which has heretofore been credited with first publication.

Now, having, as I believe, identified the true first printing of the Gettysburg Address, I regret the necessity of pointing out the

fact that the text to be found in *The Gettysburg Solemnities* is a faulty one. Here it is:

> Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are now on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting-place of those who have given their last life-blood that that nation might live. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add to or detract. [Applause.] The world will little know nor long remember what we say; but it can never forget what they did here. [Applause.] And it is for us living to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried forward. [Applause.] It is rather for us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from this honored day we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion. That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom. [Applause.] And that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth. [Applause.]

Note that the sentence, "It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this," is omitted. The other differences between this and the accepted text will be readily apparent to every reader.

The textual deficiencies of this version of the Gettysburg Address lead one to ask when the accepted text was first printed. Before that question can be answered we must ask another: What is the accepted text? The answer is not so simple as one would think.

In *Abraham Lincoln: A History*,[13] Nicolay and Hay present a version taken, according to their footnote, from an autograph copy of the address dated November 19, 1863. The text, however, is not that of Lincoln's first draft, nor is it that of the fair copy which he made on the morning of November 19.[14] In an

[13] VIII, p. 202.

[14] The five extant manuscript copies of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address are printed in facsimile in William E. Barton. *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, Indianapolis, 1930, and Charles Moore. *Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural*, Boston and New York, 1927.

article entitled, *Lincoln's Gettysburg Address*,[15] John G. Nicolay undertook to show how the "authentic text" of the address—by which he meant the one printed in *Abraham Lincoln: A History*—was established. He related that soon after Lincoln's return from Gettysburg, David Wills, who had arranged the dedication, asked the President for a copy of his remarks.

> To comply with this request [Nicolay wrote], the President reexamined his original draft, and the version which had appeared in the newspapers, and saw that, because of the variations between them, the first seemed incomplete, and the others imperfect. By his direction, therefore, his secretaries made copies of the Associated Press report as it was printed in several prominent newspapers. Comparing these with his original draft, and with his own fresh recollection of the form in which he delivered it, he made a new autograph copy — a careful and deliberate revision — which has become the standard and authentic text.

So Nicolay said. But if this "careful and deliberate revision" was ever sent to Wills, the latter failed to use it in the official account of the ceremonies—the Little, Brown and Company publication of 1864. There the text appears to be that of the *New York Tribune*, with two variations which probably resulted from typesetters' carelessness or editorial meddling. Moreover, the manuscript which Nicolay described is not known to exist, so if Lincoln really intended it to be the official version, we shall probably never know exactly how he wanted his greatest speech preserved for posterity.

Actually, I think we do know exactly how Lincoln wanted his speech preserved. In February, 1864, George Bancroft asked for a copy of the address in order that it might be included in a volume of facsimiles entitled, *Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors*. Lincoln complied, but because he wrote on both sides of the paper, his manuscript was not suitable for reproduction. At Bancroft's request he sent a second copy on March 11, 1864, this time writing only on one side of the sheets. This copy was duly reproduced in the book for which it was intended, which was published by Cushings & Bailey, Baltimore, 1864. As far as is known, this was Lincoln's final revision.

[15] *Century Magazine*, February, 1894, pp. 596-608.

Verbally, this is the text which Nicolay & Hay printed in *Abraham Lincoln: A History*. There, however, they set it in one instead of three paragraphs, and failed to follow exactly Lincoln's punctuation and capitalization. When they printed the speech in the *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, they took more editorial liberties. This time they followed Lincoln's own paragraphing, but "four score" was rendered "fourscore," "can not" was changed to "cannot," several commas were omitted, and three dashes were changed to semicolons. Arthur Brooks Lapsley, in the Federal Edition of *The Works of Abraham Lincoln*, New York and London, 1906, VII, p. 20, did much better. Had he only put a comma after the first "nation" in the sixth line of the text and a period at the end of the twenty-first line, he would have achieved complete accuracy. These variations, of course, are of small importance, but when editors have before them a text which the author has revised with care, there can be no excuse for any departure from it.

Now to answer the questions which precipitated this digression: The accepted text of the Gettysburg Address is that which Lincoln prepared for *Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors*, and it was first published, but only in facsimile, in that book. In type, a wholly accurate text is not to be found in any of the standard compilations of Lincoln's writings.

Throughout this paper I have emphasized, perhaps unduly, the comparison of texts. The emphasis, however, has been deliberate. That we have no reliable edition of Lincoln's writings is a standing reproach to American scholarship. The fact that the editorial shortcomings which Lincoln's published works exhibit resulted from carelessness and lax standards rather than from intent does not mitigate the misfortune. The greatest need in all Lincolniana is an inclusive, scholarly edition of Lincoln's writings. And textual accuracy is bibliography's greatest potential contribution to that end.

NOTES ON TWO INCUNABULA PRINTED BY ALDUS MANUTIUS

By Curt F. Bühler

Brevissima Introductio ad Litteras Graecas.

In his *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1834, p. 15, A. A. Renouard appends the following note to his description of the Greek *Horæ ad Usum Romanum* of 1497:

> M. l'abbé Morelli de Venise m'écrivit en 1812 que dans le seul exemplaire qu'il avoit vu de ce petit et très rare volume, il avoit remarqué au commencement deux cahiers cotés a, b, chacun de huit feuillets, contenant *Breuissima Introductio ad litteras Graecas*, &c. Ces seize feuillets ne se trouvent dans aucun des exemplaires que j'ai vus, ou dont on m'a donné connoissance; ceux de notre Bibliothèque, de lord Spencer, le mien, et même celui de M. Gianfilippi de Padoue. La note de M. Morelli a donc pour résultat utile, de constater l'existence de ces deux cahiers d'impression Aldine; mais il me semble impossible de conclure positivement s'ils font ou non partie intégrante des *Horae Graecae*.

Almost a century later, one of the great catalogues of incunabula (*Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum*, V, 558) made a somewhat similar observation:

> Morelli noted a copy of this book to which were prefixed two quires of eight leaves signed a, b, containing "Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas."

None of the other standard incunabula lists (Hain, Copinger, Reichling, *Nachträge zu Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Accurti, &c.) make any mention of such a work nor is it included in the work on Aldus by Ambroise Firmin-Didot.[1] This is, to say the least, somewhat singular since a complete description of the con-

[1] *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris, 1875.

tents made from the copy in Munich (which, incidentally, lacks the first leaf) was given by Anton Ruland in 1857 (*Ueber einen unbekannten Aldinischen Druck*, In: *Serapeum*, xviii, 8-11). An adequate bibliographical description of the *Brevissima Introductio* was recently included in Max Sander's monumental *Le Livre à Figures Italien*, New York, 1941, ii, 612, no. 3521, the copy there cited being in the Stadtbibliothek, Breslau.[2] It is rather curious that this Aldine incunabulum should have disappeared so completely from sight that no mention of it is made in any of the usual incunabula bibliographies. It seems likely that it achieved a certain popularity (indeed this probably explains its rarity since books of this sort were literally "read to pieces") and that it appeared in a comparatively large edition as it both found its way into Germany at an early date[3] and was reprinted several times in the sixteenth century.[4]

Two copies of the *Brevissima Introductio* are preserved in The Pierpont Morgan Library; in each case, this work is bound with the Greek *Horæ*, though the bindings are comparatively modern. It seems worth while to examine these copies more closely partly in the hope of determining whether these were meant to accompany the *Horæ* or constitute an entirely separate work.

Turning first of all to the subject matter of the *Introductio*, we find that, following the first leaf which has only a cut of the Annunciation on the verso, the book contains the following items:

[2] Prince d'Essling (*Les livres à figures vénitiens*, Florence, 1907, i, 417-18) noted that he saw a copy of the *Introductio* bound with the *Horæ* which in 1897 was in the possession of the antiquarian, Leo Olschki. This was probably one of the copies now in the Morgan Library.

[3] The copy in Munich bears the entry: LIBELLVS. DOCTORIS. HARTMANNI. SCHEDEL. NVREMBERGENSIS, written by Schedel himself in red ink. This proves that this copy must have been in Germany before Schedel's death in 1514.

[4] It was reprinted by Aldus himself in 1526 and another edition was produced by Simeone Cartolaro at Siena in 1505 (Sander, no. 3522.) Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*, pp. 588-92, mentions several German books which may also be reprints of the *Introductio*. Another such reprint may be the *Elementale Introductorium in Idioma Graecanicum* [Erfurt, 1505] in the British Museum, press-mark G 7578.

1. Alphabet, vowels, consonants, diphthongs, abbreviations, etc. ff.2-5.
2. Pater Noster. ff.5-6.
3. Ave Maria. f.6.
4. Credo. ff.6-10.
5. In principio (beginning of the Gospel according to Saint John.) ff.10-13.
6. Salve Regina (Exulum filiorum Evae.) ff.13-14.
7. Benedictio Mensae & other prayers. ff.14-15.

With the exception of the last item, it is clear that the contents of the *Introductio* are no more than a very condensed reissue of the "Introduction to Greek" which Aldus added to the end of the first Greek book produced by his press, the *Erotemata* of Constantinus Lascaris. The reason for compiling this Introduction is typical of the Renaissance; apparently it was written in order to arouse further interest in the study of Greek, or, in the words of Aldus himself: "quia opere pretium existimauimus scire graece adolescentulos." There can be little doubt that the summary in the Lascaris served as a model for the *Brevissima Introductio*; indeed, it is reasonably certain that the text of the latter work was in large part set up from that of the former. In the Lascaris, there is a serious grammatical error in the Lord's Prayer where ῥῆσαι appears in the place of the correct ῥῦσαι.[5] This error is repeated in the *Brevissima Introductio*, though in both the Morgan copies the mistake has been rectified in ink.[6] It does not occur in the Greek *Horæ*.

In 1526 the *Brevissima Introductio* was reissued by Aldus,[7] though this edition differs somewhat from the earlier one. The chief differences, apart from the types employed, are these: the

[5] This is the 2 sing. aorist imperative of ῥύομαι.

[6] A similar correction, apparently made at the press, occurs on folio 3 of both copies where "af" has been corrected in ink to "ef."

[7] The copy in The Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 28260) formerly belonged to Renouard, who said (p. 103) that he had never seen another copy.

1526 edition is printed throughout in black; it does not have the cut of the Annunciation; and the smaller type permitted the inclusion of additional material. The text agrees with the first edition through the printing of the "Salve Regina" (folio 10 verso of the later edition); from here on, the text differs as follows:

6a. Magnificat (Luke 1; 46) ff.10-12.
6b. Cantus Symeonis (Luke 2; 29) f.12.
6c. Christi decreta (Matthew 5; 39-48) ff.12-14.
7. Benedictio Mensae &c. (as first edition). ff.14-15.
7a. Dicteria septem sapientium. ff.15-16.

Despite the misprint in the Lord's Prayer which would lead one to believe that the printing of the *Brevissima Introductio* preceded that of the *Horæ*, the impressions made by the woodcut indicate quite clearly that the contrary is true. The woodcut in the *Introductio* in both the Morgan copies shows breaks in the upper left-hand and in the lower right-hand corner, and there is damage to the shading in the large window in the center of the block. These faults are not found in any of the three impressions found in the Morgan copies of the *Horæ*. Since the *Brevissima Introductio* is certainly later than the *Horæ*, it is probable that Aldus had not originally intended that this work should precede the *Horæ*.[8] It is my impression that, upon the completion of the Greek *Horæ*, it occurred to Aldus that a short summary of essential Greek might be useful to those not thoroughly versed in the language and this led him to print the condensed account of the text included in the Lascaris which he entitled: *Brevissima Introductio ad Litteras Graecas*. If a purchaser of the *Horæ* so desired, the *Introductio* could be bound with the *Horæ* but it could also be sold separately to those who merely wished a pocket handbook.

[8] The fact that the *Introductio* has its own signatures, independent of the *Horæ*, seems to emphasize this conjecture. It is also to be noted that the reprint of 1526 was never intended to form a part of any *Horæ* since Aldus does not appear to have issued an edition in that year.

There is one further point, though a small one, which is worth noting. The printing of the *Introductio* was done in two colors, the Greek passages being in black and the Latin in red. On page 10 of his paper, Dr. Ruland printed the text as it appears on folio 3 verso of the original. It will be noted that line 4 reads "Semiuocales octo" which should, being the Latin portion, appear in red. This it does in one of the Morgan copies (PML 21964) but in the other (PML 18876) it is in black. This seems to indicate, as we shall see, that the printing of the red and black was done at one and the same time.

Turning for the moment to the Greek *Horæ* also printed in red and black, it is clear that the colors were, in this case, printed with two separate pulls. This point is brought out by the poor register in the book. In numerous instances red and black letters are so out of register that portions of one character cross those of another; this could only have taken place if red and black were separately printed. Furthermore, in at least two cases,[9] the same characters were printed twice, once in red and once in black; since the register was imperfect, they are not perfectly superimposed and both impressions are thus plainly visible. The manner in which the printing of the *Horæ* proceeded may have been something like this. When the type was ready for printing, all those portions of the type to be printed in one color were inked (occasionally the adjoining characters were also touched by the ink) and the copies printed. The ink was then wiped off and the portions of type not previously printed were inked with the second color; the copies were then reprinted.[10] This alone will explain why the same

[9] See PML 21964, sign. ſ3, line 7, and κ1, line 3.

[10] For a discussion of the various ways of printing in two colors in early English books, see R. B. McKerrow, *An introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 329-36. Aldus's method seems to differ from all those mentioned by Dr. McKerrow. In the *Introductio*, it is plainly evident from the two examples noted above that in one the red portion was present during the printing of the black, and in the other the black present during the printing of the red, since in the first example the intended red is duplicated in black and in the second case the intended black is duplicated in red.

characters are found printed in two different inks, the faulty register making this apparent to the eye. Whether red or black was printed first seems to have depended on which color was predominant on that page, this color being printed first.

In the printing of the *Brevissima Introductio* where the red ink is not interspersed among the black but each line is solidly printed either in red or in black, the printer seems to have hit upon another expedient. The register in this case is perfect, so notable an improvement over the printing of the *Horæ* that it strikes the eye at once. Here it seems likely that the printer, when the type was ready for printing, inked the lines with whatever color was required and printed both black and red at one and the same time. In the one instance we have noted, the wrong line was accidentally inked black and was printed thus. If the text had been printed with two pulls, one would not expect to find such good register in view of the difficulties the printer appears to have encountered with the color work of the *Horæ*. Again, under the same circumstances, the line wrongly inked would probably have been reinked with the second color, since the printer might be expected automatically to dab on the required ink here; it is rather difficult to believe that the printer could make the same mistake in the same place twice in succession, that is that he applied the wrong ink once and that he entirely forgot to apply the correct ink another time. If the line had been twice printed with different colored inks, some vestiges of the red ink would now be visible underneath or at the edges of the black impression, as is true in the case of the *Horæ*. Since the register is perfect and there is no intermingling of red and black in the line wrongly printed in black,[11] it indicates that the printing of both red and black in the *Brevissima Introductio* took place at the same time.

[11] On a5 verso, line 4, of PML 18876, a touch of red is visible at the top of one of the Greek characters. William Blades (*The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London 1861, i, 43-44) notes a similar peculiarity in one of the early Caxtons and there shows that this is the result of printing both colors at the same time.

Horæ ad Usum Romanum, in Greek.

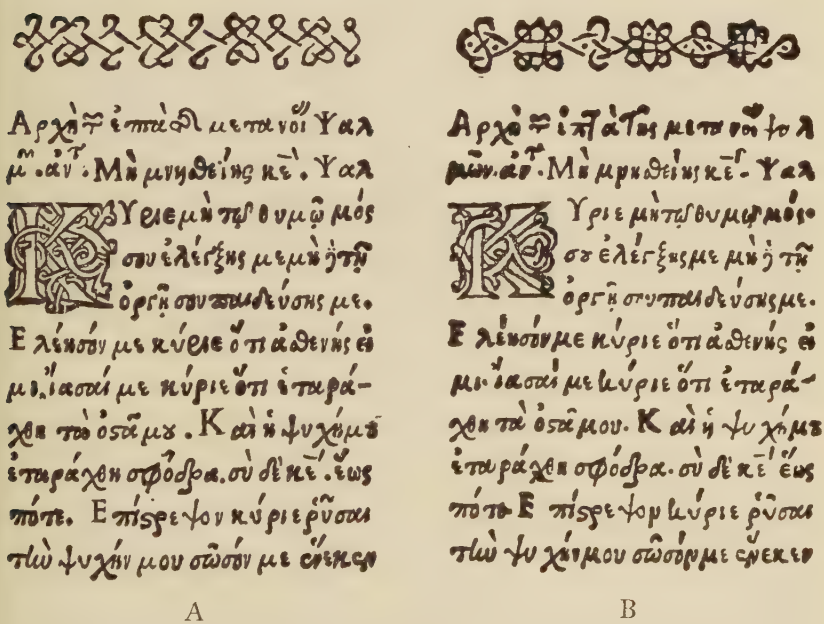
Although the Greek *Horæ* printed by Aldus in 1497 has been described in bibliographies too numerous to mention, it does not seem to have been noted before that this edition consists of two issues. These issues are distinguishable by the variant settings in quire κ, which is found in two entirely different settings. It is a practical impossibility to list the variant readings here, since the only way to identify the variant settings of some of the pages lies in the various Greek abbreviations for which Aldus had sorts available but which are no longer in use. Accordingly the page on which the Penitential Psalms begin (κ6 recto) is here reproduced from both issues so that the reader may see for himself wherein the issues vary from each other. The variant labeled A reproduces the page from PML 18876, while that marked B (taken from PML 21964) agrees with the two other Morgan copies (nos. 367 and 1069) and with the Chapin, Library of Congress, Huntington, John H. Scheide and W. K. Richardson copies.[12]

In examining the text, two incorrect readings came to my notice: on sign. κ7 recto, lines 1-2, A has προσευχήμ νου where B correctly prints προσευχήν μου and on the verso of the same leaf, line 3, A incorrectly reads 'απαλαιώθη for the 'επαλαιώθη[13] of B. This hardly seems sufficient ground for believing that Aldus reprinted the quire just to make the slight corrections here noted. It is possible that Aldus found himself short of sufficient leaves for quire κ to complete the number of copies he wanted and was thus obliged to reprint the leaves. However, since the percentage of extant American copies of setting B over those of A is so heavily in favor of the former (being 8 to 1), another explanation presents itself. In this case, we may suppose that at the beginning of printing quire κ, some physical disturbance took place in the printing

[12] For their kind assistance in describing their copies, the writer is deeply obliged to: Mr. W. K. Richardson, Mr. J. H. Scheide, Miss Lucy Osborne of the Chapin Library, Mr. Herman Mead of the Huntington Library, and Mr. Frederick Goff of the Library of Congress.

[13] This is the 3 sing. aorist indicative passive of παλαιώω.

office which either damaged the type so that no more could be printed from it or destroyed the greater part of Aldus's stock of printed sheets for this quire. This would imply that setting A is the earlier since one may assume, under this theory, that after a few sheets had been printed, the forme was destroyed and the printer obliged to reset the type. An alternative explanation



A B

Horæ ad Usum Romanum, in Greek. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1497. The page shown is κ6 recto in each issue.

would be that after setting A had been printed, the printer's store of these sheets was in large part rendered unusable by fire, soiling or the like, and Aldus was again forced to reset the type to make good his deficiency. This would make the issue with setting A the earlier.

Of course a like argument could be made for the priority of B, on the assumption that the physical disturbance took place just at

the end of printing quire κ, or that soiling rendered unusable only a small part of the already printed sheets of B, but the assumptions of the previous paragraph accord with what more often happened in printing-houses. Furthermore, the priority of B seems less probable for the following reason. If B is taken to be the earlier issue, the ratio noted above would imply that Aldus possessed the (by far) greater portion of the sheets for this quire and needed only a few to complete his edition. Now, if Aldus had lacked but a few copies, it is quite probable that he might have preferred to reduce the size of the edition by this number, using the surplus leaves of the other quires for binding purposes, rather than going to the trouble and expense of resetting and reprinting the quire in order to make good the deficiency. However, as we have seen, Aldus did reprint the quire, indicating (to me at least) that he had need of more than a mere handful of sheets. If this be true, it argues, of course, for the priority of setting A.

SHAKESPEARE'S "POEMS": THE FIRST THREE BOSTON EDITIONS*

By MARSHALL W. S. SWAN

A STUDY of the succession of Shakespearean texts gives at least an oblique indication of the direction of cultural development. Consequently, the progression of American Shakespearean editions is a matter of social as well as literary interest. To these is added bibliographical interest in abundance, a generous portion being supplied by the Boston editions of the *Poems* that appeared early in the nineteenth century. Shakespeare was no newcomer to New England at this period, for he had been admired even in Colonial times.[1] His popularity continued to rise steadily until, at the turn of the century, Boston was ready for a reading edition of his works.

Recognizing a first-class opportunity, the newly formed firm of Munroe and Francis issued proposals in 1802 for the publication of Shakespeare's plays. The edition was to be in sixteen numbers, each to contain two or three plays with Dr. Johnson's notes. Although subscriptions came in well, it was not until 1804 that the last two volumes appeared. From the prospectus and general format of the edition it is clear that the Boston publishers had no intention of printing the *Poems*. These, which are of primary bibliographical importance, were not issued until their second edition of the plays.

Previous discussions of the Boston editions of Shakespeare's *Poems* have all been based on an understandable but none the less

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 23, 1941.

[1] E. E. Willoughby. *The Reading of Shakespeare in Colonial America.* In: *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 31, 1937, p. 45.

serious fallacy. For just as there were three editions of the plays, so there were three editions of the *Poems*. Two of these were printed by the firm of Munroe and Francis, but the other was done by Oliver and Munroe, Belcher and Armstrong. The temporary withdrawal of Francis has caused much speculation. One writer suggested, "Perhaps at first Francis was afraid *Venus and Adonis* was too risqué for Puritanical Boston of the early nineteenth century, although his name appeared on an 1808 edition of the poems."[2] The apparently mysterious departure of Francis and the existence of two separate editions of the *Poems* have resulted in a confusion too complex to relate.

Yet the explanation of this seeming disappearance is as simple as it is important. Francis never did leave the firm. The surprising fact is that there were in Boston at this period two men named Munroe, both printers, both advertising the same book at the same time! Furthermore they were blood relatives, although at a distance of one hundred and fifty years. Edmund Munroe, of Munroe and Francis, remained a partner of that successful firm until it was dissolved at the death of Francis in 1853. Isaac Munroe and Edward Oliver commenced business in the "Printing-Office directly over Messrs. Gilbert & Dean's Lottery-Office" in June, 1806. In 1812 Isaac moved to Baltimore and established the *Baltimore Patriot*, which he conducted for more than fifty years. Since this distinction between the two Munroes has not been recognized before, previous discussions of the Boston editions of the *Poems* lead to confusing and faulty conclusions. Hence it seems advisable to give a chronological account of their publication, and thereby clarify the whole matter.

In February, 1807, the first part of Munroe and Francis's second edition of the *Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare* was released. Additional numbers followed serially. But once again no mention of the *Poems* had been made. It was in August that the rivalry between the two firms began.

[2] Alfred Westfall. *American Shakespearean Criticism*. New York, 1939, p. 99.

In the following advertisement, dated August 5, Oliver and Munroe announced their proposal:

Shakespeare's Poems. Proposal of Oliver & Munroe, for publishing by Subscription, The Poems of William Shakespeare, *With a Sketch of his Life*. It is presumed, that all who have in possession the *Plays* of Shakespeare, will be desirous of having *complete*, the works of this great master piece of nature; and therefore, patronize and encourage the publication of his Poems. [Then follows a table of contents, concluding with Threnes.] Conditions I. The work will be comprised in one volume, 12mo. making about 260 pages, neatly impressed on good paper, and a handsome type, and will be put to press as soon as 300 copies are subscribed for. II. The price to Subscribers will be one dollar, in extra boards, or one dollar and 25 cents, neatly bound and lettered. III. Those who procure eight subscribers, and become accountable for the same, shall receive a ninth gratis. Gentlemen holding subscription papers are *particularly* requested to return them to the publishers, No. 78, State street, by the first of Sept. next. Aug. 5.[3]

On August 7 Munroe and Francis made the following announcement of their proposed edition of the *Poems*:

Munroe & Francis inform Subscribers to the first and second edition of Shakespeare's Plays, that at the solicitation of many gentlemen, they intend to add one more volume to their work, which will comprise all the Poems of the Great Bard, and the Essays of Richardson on Shakespeare's most important tragick characters. The price will be 5s3, and left at the option of the Subscribers to take them or not. Aug. 7.[4]

Presumably fearing any unnecessary delay, Oliver and Munroe repeated in the *Repertory* on the following Tuesday their former announcement now modified to read, "and will be put to press as soon as 200 copies are subscribed for." In the issues of that paper for August 11, 18, and 25, the proposals of both companies were offered to the public. When these facts are seen in their proper relation, the two editions become rivals rather than inexplicably connected publications of the same company under different names.

Because Munroe and Francis had many plays to print in parts before they could tackle their proposed volume of the *Poems*, the

[3] *Columbian Centinel*, August 8, 1807.

[4] *The Repertory*, August 7, 1807.

Oliver and Munroe text was ready for subscribers well ahead of its competitor. On November 2, 1807, the *Gazette* notified its readers that,

> This Day published, and for sale by Oliver and Munroe, over Gilbert and Dean's Lottery-Office, and Belcher and Armstrong, No. 70, State-street, The Poems of Shakespeare, To which is added, An Account of His Life. [First American Edition] Subscribers are requested to call on Oliver and Munroe, for their books.

Meanwhile Munroe and Francis plowed steadily ahead with the printing of their second edition of the plays. Finally on Monday, August 29, 1808, more than a year after they had first announced it, they published their edition of the *Poems*, urging that "Those subscribers to the first edition, who wish for the ninth volume, which will exactly match with their sets, may have it at the subscription price."[5]

Despite its delay their volume had a lucrative sale, so that in July, 1809, they declared themselves once again ready to receive subscriptions for a new edition of the *Works of William Shakespeare*. This, their third, was to be done on a more elaborate scale. Apparently the disdainful declaration of Lemuel Blake in his proposed de luxe edition of Shakespeare that other American editions "from the style of their impressions seem rather calculated for the closet of the mendicant student, than the library of the munificent patron,"[6] had given them cause for anxiety. The publication of this edition took even longer than that of the first; thus the ninth volume, containing *Pericles* and the *Poems*, was not finally finished and put on sale until September 26, 1812.

The next matter for consideration is the three volumes of the *Poems* themselves. All three reprint the text of the poems as John Benson had arranged it in 1640, even to the Ovidian translations of Heywood.[7] This is in itself a significant fact, for the poems had

[5] *Boston Gazette*, August 29, 1808.

[6] *The Repertory*, October 30, 1807.

[7] For a discussion of Benson's work see Professor Hyder E. Rollins's edition of the poems in the *New Variorum* series, Philadelphia, 1938. I am indebted to Mr. Rollins for many apposite suggestions for this paper.

already been printed from Ayscough's Dublin edition of the first quarto text of 1609 at Philadelphia in 1796. Granting the comment of a contemporary journalist—"There is little intercourse between Philadelphia, our magnificent metropolis, and Boston, the first town in New England, famous for salt fish and civil fury," it seems strange that Munroe and Francis either did not know about Shakespeare's poems, or didn't care to print them until they were driven to do so by a rival company. The probable explanation of the statement "First American Edition" on the Oliver and Munroe volume is as likely to be that these printers were anxious to claim precedence for their book over Munroe and Francis's as that they were deliberately attempting to conceal the existence of the earlier Philadelphia edition of 1796.

We have seen that the Oliver and Munroe volume, henceforth called Boston I for convenience, was not printed as a ninth volume to Munroe and Francis's first edition. Such a procedure would have been impossible under the conditions; furthermore, it is not uniform in size with the plays. As their proposal shows, however, they did hope to profit by the success of the plays. The note, "Vol. IX," which appeared on the first leaf of each signature after D except F and G may have been printed to give the illusion of continuity between the first edition of the plays and their own *Poems*. On the other hand, Boston I is, so far as the verses are concerned, practically a paginal reprint of Francis Gentleman's edition of the *Poems* (London, 1774). This work was added to Bell's edition of the plays, a fact shown by the presence of "Vol. IX" on the first leaf of each signature (B-N). Therefore it is probable that the Boston compositor merely followed his copy with unreasoned exactitude.

Another matter of interest regarding Boston I is its contents. Included in the text of the proposal for this volume was a list of the poems to be printed, indicating contents similar to that of Gentleman's edition. When it was finally published, however, it contained two additional poems: "Why should this desart [*sic*]

be," and the spurious lines by Dibdin, "Ann Hathaway." This discrepancy seems to indicate that sometime between August, the date of proposal, and November, the date of publication, the printers saw a copy of these verses and included them on the spur of the moment. The latter poem was printed in 1803 in *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin*, IV, 30-32. Since the text in that work is considerably different from that in Boston I, it is unlikely that it was the immediate source for the spurious poem in the Boston edition.

A few minor items about this 258-page 12mo are that both the index and page numbers for 165 are incorrectly given as 161; the contents has the additional incorrect 158 for 148; and the page numbers for 78 are reversed and in the wrong corner to boot. Page 29 is incorrectly numbered 27. Finally, the Wendell copy at Harvard has the mis-signature, F2 for G2.

Boston II, as Munroe and Francis's volume of the *Poems* will henceforth be called, is no less interesting than its competitor, Boston I. It lacks any separate title-page, but has in its place an engraved title that appeared in each of the nine volumes of the second edition of the *Dramatick Works*. This general title is dated 1807, whereas the actual book was not put on sale until August, 1808, as the newspaper announcements have already proved. The 1807 date, however, added to the confusion that has hitherto been associated with the Oliver and Munroe and the Munroe and Francis volumes. The text of Boston II is not a paginal reprint of Boston I as has sometimes been claimed.[8] It occupies twenty-four fewer pages and furthermore does not contain the Life and Introduction that Oliver and Munroe used in Boston I. On the other hand Boston II does contain Richardson's *Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters*. These essays have a separate pagination and a title-page of their own dated 1808, that bears the imprint "Munroe, Francis, & Parker." (Samuel H. Parker, a bookbinder, joined the firm

[8] Westfall, p. 99.

about the beginning of 1808. With an apprentice of his named Ditson he later became the founder of Oliver Ditson, music publishers.) The poetical contents of Boston II are the same as those of Boston I except that the two additional poems are not included. In every copy that I have seen, however, there is a curious fragment. The compositor began to set up the first of these two poems, "Why should this a desert be"; but after setting the title, "Rosalinda," and the first two lines, he stopped. The printer neglected to remove the type from the chase, and ran off the page in this incomplete state. Thus all copies had to be issued with a strip of paper pasted over the unfinished passage. This furnishes evidence that he was using as a basis for his text a copy of Boston I.

At The New York Public Library there is a copy of Boston II that has not been mentioned before, so far as I know. It is a second issue of Boston II and has a cancel title, replacing the engraved general title, and reading: *The Poems of William Shakespeare. Comprehending Venus and Adonis, Tarquin and Lucrece, and Poems on Several Occasions. Boston. Published and sold by Munroe, Francis, & Parker, at the Shakespeare Bookstore, No. 4 Cornhill. 1808.*

There is a third issue with another cancel title at the Boston Public Library. The date on this is 1809. Neither of these reissues contains Richardson's essays, but both are made up of remainder Boston II sheets, quite unchanged. They too have the pasted cancel slip over the incomplete section at the end of the column.

The third edition of the plays came out serially in 1810-1812. The ninth and last volume containing *Pericles* and the *Poems* was published in September, 1812. It was an almost paginal reprint of Boston II. Needless to say, the spurious poems had been completely expunged by the time of printing of Boston III. To this volume there were added a few explanatory notes culled mainly from Oulton's London edition of 1804, and thus ultimately derived from Malone's 1780 and 1790 editions. This entire edition was further embellished by thirty-seven engravings by Dr. Alex-

ander Anderson, the first engraver on wood in America;[9] and so it thus became the first extensively illustrated Shakespeare printed in this country. Boston III probably represents the last printing of Benson's adulterated text of the *Poems* for general sale.

Textually these three editions of Shakespeare's *Poems* are important. Many unique readings are mere compositor's errors; but both Boston I and Boston II have what appear to be deliberate emendations of their own. The third edition has fewer of these new readings. Generally the three volumes are in agreement. That Boston I was set up from some state of Gentleman's English edition of 1774, I have no doubt. The similarity between the two is striking; yet there are passages that seem to suggest that Oulton's 1804 edition was consulted. The second Boston edition follows its predecessor fairly closely. It oftentimes departs, however, in favor of an Oulton reading. The reasoning behind these choices is at times apparently capricious; yet there seems to be no other explanation for the results shown by a careful collation of the variant readings. The third edition of the *Poems* follows the text of the second nearly page for page; such departures that it does make are generally to agree with Oulton when Boston II did not.

In the main, however, the three editions agree fairly closely. Frequently they differ from the English editions only in the matter of punctuation. There is a marked tendency in the Boston *Poems* to simplify both punctuation and spelling. These changes, reflecting the influence of Noah Webster and his associates, show up in the modifications of British colons to American semicolons, semicolons to commas, and not infrequently commas to no punctuation at all. In other instances these changes and regularizations did not occur until the printing of the second Boston edition.

To recognize that more than one edition was used in prepara-

[9] Evert Augustus Duyckinck. *A Brief Catalogue of Books Illustrated With Engravings by Dr. Alexander Anderson.* New York, 1885, p. 5.

tion of the texts is to imply editorial work. The *Barton Catalogue* claims the honor for David Francis, "all his life a lover and careful reader of Shakespeare."[10] Miss Sherzer on the other hand accepts the statement of W. W. Clapp, Jr., that Munroe "is the American editor of the first Boston edition."[11] This statement, of course, refers to Edmund Munroe, and must now be applied only to the first edition of the plays. Charles Francis, publisher son of David, later wrote, "I am quite sure there was no special editing of these editions, beyond careful proof reading, which was done by the printers themselves." Careful proof reading, contrariwise, does not account for rewritten notes nor for an eclectic text. In any case the editing seems to have been made with a view to practical rather than scholarly results.

Many years later Francis himself wrote some notes about these Shakespearean editions. Considering that his life was so completely filled with books, one is not surprised to find that his details are often inaccurate.[12] One final trifle relevant to these books is told in the journal of Simeon Ide, a contemporary printer:

> After introducing myself to Mr. Francis, who appeared to be the spokesman of the concern, and stating the object of my visit . . . he showed me a Ramage press in perfect order, with which he began printing some ten years before, and a font of bourgeois type which he said had been used mainly in printing the works of Shakespeare, and gave me his prices, viz: 45 cents a pound for the type (about 350 pounds) and $120 for the press.[13]

Ide took his purchases home with him to New Hampshire; and established them there in an abandoned blacksmith shop. The type that had printed Shakespeare was then reset by an eleven-year-old girl, and used to print the first *New Testament* in New Hampshire.

[10] Quoted in Westfall, p. 102.

[11] Jane Sherzer. *American Editions of Shakespeare.* In: *P.M.L.A.* Vol. 22, 1907, p. 643.

[12] These comments are quoted in the *Barton Catalogue*, I, p. 5.

[13] Louis Flanders. *Simeon Ide.* Rutland, Vermont, 1931, p. 39. I am indebted to Barrows Mussey, Esq., of Guilford, Vermont, for this reference.

These few notes are concerned with three printings of a literary masterpiece, books bought by countless readers including some hundred Harvard students and numerous other collegiate subscribers. It has been conjectured that since Longfellow's *Poems of Places* included the verses on Anne Hathaway as Shakespeare's, the "kindly bard of Brattle Street" made his acquaintance with the *Poems* through Boston I.[14] Unhappily for this pleasant theory the texts in the two books are so different that such a conjecture cannot be supported. None the less, these editions were subscribed for by such men as Charles Adams, the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, Christopher Gore, Jr., Richard Henry Dana, Edward Everett and Daniel Webster. Consequently, I feel warranted in closing this paper with the slightly adapted pronouncement of a distinguished bibliographer:

> Considering the fact that [these editions] fell into the hands of so many young men from all parts of the country at the most critical period of their lives for the formation of their literary tastes, I feel that I am justified in claiming for [them] a preeminence over all other American editions so far as regards the awakening an interest in Shakspere's works.[15]

[14] Westfall, p. 101.

[15] James M. Hubbard. *Shakspere and the Colleges.* In: *The Nation.* Vol. 37, August 30, 1883, p. 183.

HARDY'S GRIM NOTE IN "THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE"*

By Carl J. Weber

SHORTLY after Thomas Hardy's death in 1928, his American publishers received a bibliographical inquiry about *The Return of the Native* which they were unable to answer. They appealed for help to Professor William Lyon Phelps, who in turn called on Richard L. Purdy; and Professor Purdy's answer has been printed in Phelps's *Autobiography*. This reply, however, instead of solving the difficulty, has only served to create new bibliographical perplexities, and the original question remains as yet unanswered.

The easiest way to present the problem is to quote Professor Phelps. His *Autobiography with Letters* contains a chapter on Thomas Hardy, in which we read:

> I have always regarded *The Return of the Native* as Hardy's masterpiece; it is a desolating tragedy as it stands, but he seems at one time in its composition to have wished to make it even more so. I received the following letter from the American publishers, Harper and Brothers.
>
> "May 9, 1928. . . . Mr. Thomas Wells, the editor of our Magazine, has suggested that I write to you as one who knows more about the various editions of Hardy's *The Return of the Native* than anyone else in the country. One of our authors has asked us if we know anything of a note written by Hardy to the effect that Book VI of *The Return of the Native* was added to please the public. Our author says that such a note exists, but no edition can be found which contains it. I am wondering if you can give us any light on this inquiry. . . ."
>
> In this letter my knowledge was like Mark Twain's death. But in my copy of Professor Samuel Chew's book, *Thomas Hardy as Poet and Novelist*, which had just been published that year (1928), I read the following paragraph (p. 40):
>
> "One may well question the grim note which Hardy, in the definitive edition of the book, appended to it, to the effect that only the exigencies of periodical

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 23, 1941.

publication caused him to arrange an ending with the marriage of the two children of the heath and requesting readers of 'an austere artistic code' to imagine that Thomasin remained a widow and that Venn disappeared from the countryside."

My younger colleague at Yale, Professor Richard Purdy, who *is* an authority on Hardy, was kind enough to give me the following information:

"By 'definitive edition' Professor Chew must refer to the costly limited and signed Mellstock Edition. The note has not been retained in either the American Harpers or the English Macmillan standard editions — at least the current issues of those editions."

This quotation from the Phelps *Autobiography* will at once disclose the need for minute bibliographical details. We have references to English editions and American editions, to earlier and to "definitive" editions, to standard and to "costly limited" editions — none of them identified by date. Any attempt to clear up the confusion with regard to the "grim" but elusive note will call for careful designation of specific editions of the novel; and, since there is as yet no complete bibliography of *The Return of the Native* available, let me begin by trying to provide one. In the following census (complete, as far as my present knowledge goes), I shall try to identify 55 editions of *the Native*; I shall indicate among them the one correctly designated as the "definitive edition"; also, for the benefit of readers who have access to any of these editions, I shall state where the note may be found: i.e., in what editions and on what pages; and, for those who find themselves in possession of copies of *the Native* in which the note is missing, I shall quote it in its entirety.

The census begins with Hardy's manuscript. He wrote the novel in 1877 at Sturminster Newton, Dorset, not far from the heath described in the opening chapter. The holograph manuscript is now, through the unsolicited instrumentality of Clement K. Shorter, in University College Library, Dublin, Ireland. A photostatic reproduction of the first page is in the library of Colby College, Waterville, Maine, where all the editions which I am about to list are available, unless statement is made to the contrary. All are in one volume, except as otherwise indicated.

1878: London, twelve numbers of *Belgravia*, January to December, with twelve illustrations by Arthur Hopkins. Eight of these illustrations have appeared nowhere else.

1878: New York, twelve numbers of *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1878, to January, 1879. Four of Hopkins's illustrations are reproduced.

1878: New York, Henry Holt. First edition. Leisure Hour series; light tan cloth.

1878: London, Smith, Elder & Co. First English edition, 3 vols., brown cloth.

1879: Leipzig, Bernhard Tauchnitz. 2 vols., paper. Nos. 1796 and 1797 of the Tauchnitz Editions.

1880: London, C. Kegan Paul & Co. "New Edition," dark green cloth.

1884: London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. Red cloth. The Colby copy is a reprint of this edition, dated 1890.

1892: New York, George Munro's Sons. Seaside Library, Pocket Edition, No. 1975; paper. No copy at Colby.

George Munro began pirating Hardy as early as 1877, but he apparently never published *The Native*. After his death, his sons issued this paper-backed piracy.

1892: New York, Hovendon Co. "$1.25 Volumes." Light green cloth, gilt tops; date conjectural.

1893: New York, Hovendon Co. "Popular Edition." Red cloth, gilt lettering. Printed from the same plates or type as, and possibly simultaneously with, the green cloth Hovendon edition.

1893: New York, United States Book Co. "Leisure Moment Series" stamped on spine of binding; salmon-colored cloth, imitative in color and design of the Henry Holt series. Date conjectural.

1895: London, Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. Volume VI of Hardy's Collected Works. Blue-green cloth; on the spine: The Return | of the | Native.

This edition of Hardy's works is properly referred to as the Uniform Edition. From the fact that it printed the Wessex Novels, it has at times (especially in booksellers' catalogues) been referred to, erroneously, as the Wessex Edition.

1895: New York, Harper and Brothers. Blue-green cloth; on the spine: The Return | of | The Native. Printed in England from the Osgood-McIlvaine plates, and identical with the London edition except for the title-page and the binding. Advertised by Harpers as the Uniform Library Edition.

1896: New York, Lovell, Coryell Co. "Illustrated Series," 50 cents. No copy at Colby.

1897: Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. Brown calf and decorated boards.

1898: Budapest, Franklin Tarsulat. Hungarian translation, *Otthon a Szulofoldon*, by Bekesi and Pallagi Gyula. Black cloth.

1900: New York, Harper and Brothers. "Wessex Edition" and volume-number on the spine; "Wessex Edition" and date "1900" on the title-page. Smooth red cloth with floral decorations.

There is no copy of this edition of *the Native* at Colby, and I have not seen a copy; but the description is taken from Volume 14 (*Jude the Obscure*) in this set of Hardy's works, — a set which probably included 17 volumes in all. Special attention is here called to this edition, for it has not, to my knowledge, been recorded in any previous Hardy bibliography. It is particularly important to notice that this "Wessex Edition," with the date 1900 on the title-page, is not the twenty-volume edition of 1905 to which I referred as the "Wessex Edition" in *The Colophon*, n.s.3:388-89, September, 1938. See below.

1902: London, Macmillan & Co. The first Macmillan publication of the novel, in their Uniform Edition of Hardy's Works in 19 volumes. Gray-blue cloth. Reprinted in 1906, 1909, 1912, 1916, 1921, and 1924.

1902: New York, Peter Fenelon Collier. Volume VIII of Hardy's Works in twelve volumes. Dull dark green cloth.

1902: Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. Bright red buckram.

1904: New York, A. L. Burt Co. "Home Library" edition.

1905: New York, Harper and Brothers. Two volumes; bright green ribbed cloth; from set of Hardy's works in twenty volumes.

This is the edition which, in *The Colophon* (see citation above), I called the "Wessex Edition." This designation does not appear on the title-page, or on the cover of the book, and I now think it wrongly applied to this edition; but I was led to believe that this twenty-volume set of Hardy's works was the Wessex Edition by reason of the following letter which Hardy wrote to a friend on November 10, 1905:

"Thanks for the advertisement of the Harper's edition. I have not seen it, and have had nothing to do with it, the title 'Wessex Edition' being their own invention. I see it is called a complete edition of my works. This is not true — there are three volumes missing."

Perhaps there was a 1905 reprint of the 17-vol. "Wessex Edition" of 1900. I have not seen such a set. I have appealed to Harper & Brothers for information on this point, but they have none to give. If there was such a reprint (to which Hardy's letter would then refer), there were *two* separate sets published by Harpers in 1905: one in 17 volumes, a reprint in a rather cheap green cloth (the Colby Library has a 1905 *Tess* in this format), and the other set in 20 volumes (all 20 at Colby), more sumptuously bound in bright green vertically ribbed cloth, with colored title-pages.

One curious result of Hardy's having had nothing to do with this edition is traceable to the fact that this 1905 *Native* was printed in two volumes. Although the novel here appears twice as bulky as in most other editions, the fact is that it is shorter by one page than any other English or American edition. Without consulting Hardy, his New York publishers suppressed an entire page, in order to make Book III, Chapter VI, begin on a right-hand page (at the opening of the second volume), instead of coming on a left-hand page (p. 258) as was the case in the Harper edition of 1895. By omitting five or six lines from page 258 and suppressing nearly thirty lines from page 259, the publishers avoided having to reset more than a single page of type. This abridgment has, I think, passed wholly without previous detection.

1906: London, Macmillan & Co. Pocket Edition, thin paper, plum-colored cloth. Reprinted in 1907, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1917, 1919 (twice), 1920, 1923, and 1925. Reprints subsequent to 1912 (the "definitive" date) were made from unchanged plates. The text was reset for the Pocket Edition in 1932.

1910: Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. "Alpha Library" on title-page; green cloth. No copy at Colby. Date suggested by the publishers, who (on December 4, 1941) wrote: "As nearly as we can estimate, these [Alpha] books must have been published between 1900 and 1910."

1912: London, Macmillan & Co. "Wessex Edition." Volume IV of Hardy's collected works. Dark red cloth; sepia frontispiece: "Egdon Heath."

This British Wessex Edition should, of course, be distinguished from the American Wessex Edition of 1900. The two are in no way connected and wholly unlike in text and in appearance.

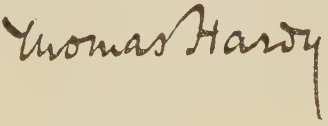
The text of the novel was revised and reset for this edition. It contains Hardy's final handling of his work. On September 17, 1915, he wrote to a friend: "This 'Wessex Edition,' called in America the 'Definitive Edition,' will, I suppose, be the last." And here, on page 473, there appears for the first time the mysterious footnote about which Professor Phelps wrote, as recorded at the beginning of this article.

This London "Wessex Edition" was reprinted in 1920.

1912: New York, Harper and Brothers. Volume IV of the "Autograph Edition" of Hardy's works in twenty volumes. Reed-green buckram; paper labels.

In Volume I of this set, there is a page signed by Hardy, which is the source of his knowledge, quoted above, that "this 'Wessex Edition' [was] called in America the 'Definitive Edition,' " on which the following appears:

This is the Authorized and Definitive Edition of my books.



Only 153 copies of this set were printed, from plates imported by Harpers from England. The text is identical with the British edition of 1912, and the "grim" note of Professor Chew's remark appears on page 473. This was its first American appearance. In any attempt to understand why Harpers, in 1928, should be unable to find a note published by them in 1912 (and thereafter), it is important to remember that there were only 153 sets of this edition, sold by subscription. The Colby copy is numbered 143.

1917: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Modern Student's Library, dark blue cloth. Edited by J. W. Cunliffe, — the first editorial treatment given this novel and probably Hardy's first appearance in a textbook. Professor Cunliffe had not consulted, perhaps had not seen, the "definitive" or "Autograph Edition," or its British ancestor, the "Wessex Edition" of 1912, and the "grim" note is not given in the Scribner edition.

1920: London, Macmillan & Co. "Mellstock Edition," 2 vols., bright blue buckram with gilt medallion. In this edition, *The Return of the Native* fills Volumes VII and VIII of this 37-volume set of Hardy's works.

This is the edition to which Professor Purdy referred in his reply to Professor Phelps. In reference to this edition, Hardy had written on August 28, 1914, to a friend: "The . . . *édition de luxe* . . . is . . . to be an exact copy of the Wessex edition lately [1912] published, and will have no more value textually than that has." In this Mellstock Edition, the elusive note appears on page 241 of the second volume. Hardy's own copies of these Mellstock books are now in the Colby Library.

1921: New York, Harper and Brothers. Volume IV of the "Anniversary Edition" in 21 volumes; red cloth, gilt tops. Photo frontispiece: "Blooms-End (Bhompston Farm-house)."

This is, to all intents and purposes, a reprint of the "Autograph [i.e., the 'Definitive'] Edition," lacking only a colored page in the front of the book and the map of Wessex at the end. The note appears on page 473.

1921: Helsingfors, Finland, Holger Schildts. Two volumes, Nos. 77 and 78; paper covers. Swedish translation, *Heden*, by August Brunius. The "austere" note is not given.

1922: New York, Harper and Brothers. Harper's Modern Classics edition, edited by Warner Taylor; brown cloth. Printed from the 1900 (or 1895) plates, Professor Taylor's edition, like Professor Cunliffe's, is without the "austere" note found in the two preceding Harper editions.

1923: Paris, Flammarion. French translation, *Le Retour au Pays Natal*, by [Mme.] Eve Paul-Margueritte. This is a brusque abridgment of the novel, 507 pages being reduced to 284. The "austere" note does not appear.

1924: Prague, Vydavatelstvo Druzstevni. Bohemian translation, *Rodakuv Navrat*, by Ladislav Vymetal. Two vols., bound in one; black cloth. The note is not given.

1925: London, Macmillan & Co. This is a reprint of the Pocket Edition of 1906, with no change in the plates. The "austere" note is thus lacking.

1926: New York, Boni and Liveright. Modern Library. Dark green limp imitation-leather. The note is not given.

1928: New York, Harper and Brothers. On April 23 Harpers published their current Trade Edition of the novel; olive-gray cloth. Reprints are still available. The "grim" note appears on page 473. Only a little over two weeks after the first appearance of this edition, the publishers wrote to Professor Phelps: "No edition can be found that contains it." No one — neither the publishers nor Professor Phelps nor Professor Purdy — seems to have looked at page 473.

1928: New York, The Macmillan Company. Modern Readers' Series; blue cloth; edited by A. C. Baugh. Like Professors Cunliffe and Taylor, Professor Baugh did not print from the definitive text and the "austere" note is not given. This edition was reprinted annually, 1930-1934.

1929: New York, Harper and Brothers. Limited Edition, with wood-engravings by Clare Leighton. Straw-colored buckram and blue boards.

1,500 copies of this edition were printed, "of which 500 copies are for sale in England and one thousand in the United States." The Colby copy is numbered 1218. Printed from the 1912 plates, the note appears on page 473 as in the Autograph ("definitive") and the Anniversary Editions.

1929: New York, Harper and Brothers. Trade edition, in dull red cloth, unnumbered, of the novel with illustrations by Clare Leighton. The note appears on page 473.

1929: London, Macmillan & Co. Limited Edition, one of 500 copies, with wood engravings by Clare Leighton. White vellum and decorated-paper boards. Printed in the United States, as a Harper project, the sheets were imported into England. The note thus completed a transatlantic "round-trip." It appears on page 473.

1930: New York, Harper and Brothers. New printing of the Harper's Modern Classics edition, edited by Warner Taylor. Bright green cloth. Printed from the 1912 plates, the note appears on page 473. Numerous reprints to date.

1931: New York, Literary Guild. Guild Classics edition, edited by Carl Van Doren. Gray-blue cloth, silver lettering. Van Doren followed the professorial example set by Cunliffe, Taylor, and Baugh in failing to use the definitive text; the note is accordingly not given.

1931: New York, Grosset & Dunlap. Universal Library. Printed from the Literary Guild plates, this book of course lacks the note.

1931: Boston, Ginn & Co. High school text, edited by Irene M. Haworth. Green unstarched cloth; later reprints have smooth (waxed) green cloth. The note is not given.

1932: London, Macmillan & Co. Cottage Library; red paper-boards. The text was reset for this edition; the "austere" note appears on page 470. Reprinted in 1934.

1932: Paris, Catalogne & Cie. French translation, *Le Retour au Pays Natal*, by Marie Canavaggia. This is the only foreign translation to give the "austere" note; it appears on page 520.

1934: New York, Farrar & Rinehart. In *Modern English Readings*, edited by R. S. Loomis. In this, the sixth American editing of the novel, the note is not given.

1935: New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co. In *College Omnibus*, edited by James D. McCallum. The note is not given.

1935: New York, The Macmillan Company. "New Modern Readers' Series." A reprint, in a new format, of the 1928 edition, edited by A. C. Baugh. There is, of course, no "grim" note. Reprinted in 1936. This form was discontinued in 1937.

1935: London, Macmillan & Co. "Scholar's Library" edition, edited by Cyril Aldred. Grass-green cloth; printed from the Cottage Library (1932) plates. The note is given on page 470.

1936: London, Macmillan & Co. Cottage Library. Reprint of the 1934 edition; the note appears on page 470.

1937: New York, The Macmillan Company. Royal Edition, "cheap edition," blue cloth. Reprinted in 1939 and 1941. Except in format, this is a reprint of the Baugh edition of 1928. The note is not given.

1939: New York, Pocket Books, Inc. "Pocket Book No. 20"; stiff "perma-gloss" paper covers. The note is not given.

1941: New York, Random House. Modern Library No. 121. Stiff red cloth. The "austere" note is not given.

1942: New York, The Heritage Club. A new edition has been announced as shortly to appear, with woodblock illustrations by Agnes Miller Parker.

With the above check-list before us, it is clear that Professor Chew's phrase, "the definitive edition of the book," can refer to only one,—the edition of 1912, in London called the Wessex Edition and in America, the Autograph Edition bearing Hardy's signed statement, "This is the . . . Definitive Edition. . ." In this

publication Hardy appended the note which his American publishers printed but later could not find. Since then, the note has suffered a curious fate in the United States. Although no novel of Hardy's has received the editorial treatment that American college and university professors have given *The Return of the Native*, the curious fact is that, for twenty-five years, no American editor has printed the definitive text of 1912. Cunliffe in 1917, Taylor in 1922, Baugh in 1928, Van Doren in 1931, Miss Haworth in 1931, Loomis in 1934, and McCallum in 1935, all passed by Hardy's final work in 1912. Even after Harpers had imported English plates for their 1912 edition, and of course with the plates of *The Return of the Native* came the footnote, even then the note failed to make its appearance in the Harper's Modern Classics edition until December, 1930. Since then, this textbook edition has been printed from the 1912 plates. In *all* current Harper (American) and in all current Macmillan (British) editions, the footnote appears. In all editions by other publishers, it is still missing.

For the benefit, therefore, of any member of that large body of American readers who find themselves equipped with a copy of *The Return of the Native* in which the note is not given, I quote it here. Hardy appended it to the end of Chapter III of Book VI, as follows:

"The writer may state here that the original conception of the story did not design a marriage between Thomasin and Venn. He was to have retained his isolated and weird character to the last, and to have disappeared mysteriously from the heath, nobody knowing whither—Thomasin remaining a widow. But certain circumstances of serial publication led to a change of intent.

"Readers can therefore choose between the endings, and those with an austere artistic code can assume the more consistent conclusion to be the true one."

PRICES, COLLECTORS, AND LIBRARIANS*

By Forest H. Sweet

THE principles underlying prices made by dealers to collectors and librarians are sometimes misunderstood. I am a dealer; I set prices on historical material to both collectors and librarians and it has been suggested that a dealer might contribute something toward a better mutual understanding.

In the first place a dealer reflects in his prices the trade he serves—his own customers, their whims, their demands and their average financial condition. For the carriage trade there are dealers with smart street addresses, soft lighting effects, and an atmosphere of elegance, culture and high overhead. There are dealers who supply entertainment to visiting buyers from out of town, a practice which also prevails in the garment trades, though we like to think the conversation in the historical trade is on a loftier plane and the entertainment somewhat more refined. There are customers who have educated palates for wines and spirits, and the catering dealers find an aroma of smoke and alcohol conducive to a weakening of sales resistance.

So it goes, right down to the push-cart trade. And mark you; desirable items can be had from all sorts of dealers. The more desirable the item, the more kinds of dealers you may have to approach before you find it. A first edition of Poe's *Tamerlane* or a rare autograph is apt to turn up first in a shabby shop because there are more of the shabby shops. Whether its progress continues from dealer to dealer with an ever rising price, until it is fin-

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Chicago, December 30, 1941.

ally offered for sale in an ultra-smart shop, depends on how well the ultimate buyer knows his dealers along the route. Historical and literary items have no routine method of appearing in the market—the best buyer gets them as near as he can to their source and hence at the lowest possible price. So do not pass up a shabby shop. The shopkeeper, often shabby too, sometimes *has* the book, the manuscript, or the map you want.

But librarians are too busy to do much shopping—actual pedestrian book-hunting from shop to shop and town to town. They depend largely on the letter carrier who brings them my offerings along with those of scores of other dealers. Here too, in their catalogues, the dealers reflect their customers, their whims, demands, and financial sagacity, or lack of it. Some buyers want extensive descriptions in fine catalogues, printed by a firm noted for the beauty of its presswork. They like full-page illustrations, stiff covers, special mailing cartons, and the like. So far I have not seen any with addresses engraved by Tiffany but perhaps that is only because the boys have not yet thought of that little extra expense.

Some buyers want a lot of adjectives. They seem to enjoy extravagant descriptions. One of the dealers has gone the limit in a recent catalogue, in which 49 per cent of his items are described as superb, 16 per cent fine, 12 per cent very fine and 5 per cent magnificent. Only 2 per cent of the items bore no adjectives whatever.

For the wise buyer the financial sheet of a newspaper is enough to indicate the current market values of billions in investments—an equally plain, simple, readable price list of books or manuscripts seems to be adequate for the serious collector and librarian.

Some customers, especially libraries, want discounts. And some dealers are glad to oblige. It's really no trouble. All these dealers have to do is to put up the price in the first place, high enough to stand the maximum amount of discount. If some discount-buyer is content with less than the maximum discount, then an extra penny has been got.

Closely akin to the liberal discounter is the dealer who is afraid he won't get enough money for his item. He ASKS an ungodly price, two, three, even a dozen times in extreme cases, what a similar item can be had for elsewhere. By mail it is hard for some buyers to tell whether the dealer is an "all-the-traffic-will-bear" dealer, a discounter or a fearful soul—fearful he'll sell too cheap. In this double buyer AND seller confusion, a counter-offer may be made. The dealer offers to split the difference. The buyer has had part of his own way, so a bargain is closed and everybody is happy, especially the dealer. Why the dealer? Because most counter-offers are made on the basis of the asking price—not on the basis of actual competitive price for the item somewhere else.

Some librarians are so-called *big buyers* and perhaps sometimes they DO actually get genuine discounts. But if they do, the amount is not apt to be more than the difference between the net cost of selling to that particular librarian and the net cost of selling to someone else. And remember that all the important items you buy are saleable elsewhere almost as easily as to you. Hence true, actual discount is a very small amount of money, however big the buyer may be.

In almost every catalogue there are bargains, intentional bargains called "leaders," or unintentional bargains called "sleepers" resulting from ignorance of the cataloguer. The wiser the cataloguer, the fewer the "sleepers" and the more frequent the "leaders." The wiser the buyer, the sooner he reads his catalogues for a chance at these bargains. These bargains are necessary—else who would read the catalogue? The dealers who fix all prices in a catalogue at all the traffic will bear generally sell but a small number of the items listed. And that same lot of material can be priced to sell two-thirds of it—cheaper to the buyers and more profitably to the seller. The cost of a catalogue lies in preparing the copy, paying the printer, and the cost of mailing. We can ignore cost of preparation of the copy. Most dealers do that in spare time.

Printing and mailing *can* be done at a minimum of about 25 cents per item sold. The cost runs around $2.50 per item listed in some fine catalogues. Per item sold and per item listed are two different things. But generally the maker of the fancy catalogue is shy and reticent and talks about his cost PER ITEM SOLD only in his sleep. Perhaps he also mentions it to the income tax man when explaining his deductions. I recommend that you read your catalogues for what they contain, for adequacy and accuracy of description. Few people treasure catalogues as works of art; many do as sources of information.

Prices are temporary things—this price today, and that price tomorrow, on the very same item. Why? Prices of books and manuscripts are subject to the same economic law of supply and demand that governs prices of other commodities. Also only about one per cent of all known historical material bears any prices at all. The other 99 per cent is already in institutions or in private collections. Small changes in supply and demand therefore create large differences in the prices of the tiny fraction which bears price tags. Let me give as an example my present want of a letter or document signed by Hugh Williamson, one of the Signers of the U. S. Constitution. I am willing to pay a fancy price for it, either in cash or in trade. As soon as I get it, I am apt to be only mildly interested in a second one, indifferent toward a third and probably bored enough to ignore a fourth. Generally speaking, Hugh Williamson's letters are not rare. He lived long and he wrote much. Hundreds of them are known but I find none in the market. The market is therefore temporarily very good for one item. The market will sag back to normal the minute this single want is filled. Neither Hugh Williamson nor my want of his autograph is important, of course, except as an indication of how thousands of similar temporary wants make high and low prices.

There is another angle to demand and supply in a specialized field of collecting. One buyer of a specialty has things pretty

much his own way. It is his own fault if he lets his enthusiasm run wild and pays high prices for what nobody else wants. But one competitor coming into his specialized field changes the situation. Two competitors change it more—and a dozen make it almost impossible for our original collector to get anything in the open market. And yet the smart collector welcomes competition—in fact, he encourages it. Why, you may ask, should he raise apparent obstacles to his own collecting progress? For one of two perfectly sensible and entirely adequate reasons: first, to provide a market for his collection, for himself or his heirs, if money should become an object; second, to insure that someone will carry on his work after him. The latter consideration is the more important.

Actual average net cash prices of historical material tend to approach the cost of production—just the same as with every other commodity. Books and pamphlets, maps and manuscripts are of no use lying in garrets. They must be produced—brought out and laid on the buyer's desk. All the steps in the process require work, and the money value attached to the few exceptionally high-priced rarities is the incentive which causes people to do the work in the hope of great financial reward. Actually nearly all the work done in producing historical material is done for small money wages, certainly less than unskilled labor. If any of you doubt that statement, just send out one of your employees to hunt material at its source—or go yourself. Remember you have advantages of superior knowledge of the material and of attachment to a recognized institution, well known and esteemed in the community in which you do your hunting. The Government tried hunting historical material at its source using WPA labor. Each of you knows the results in your own area. Think about this cost—before you write your next letter to a dealer telling him his prices are outrageously high, especially when you feel that the only difference between the dealer and Jesse James is that Mr. James wore a mask, rode a horse, and carried a gun.

Now let me remind you of methods of getting wanted material without money. Begging seems to be an entirely honorable endeavor for a librarian. Often material will be given which cannot be purchased. Sometimes heirs do not want to look after inherited collections or family papers. Yet they do not feel like selling them, nor yet destroying them. It is pleasantly flattering to think that a library would be willing to assume the responsibility of caring for the collection. People like to be benefactors—donors to a learned institution. Indeed, many of our best libraries are the results of repeated gifts. More can be done by most libraries to encourage such gifts.

But there is another angle of getting material without money which many librarians neglect, and that is coöperation with private collectors. There seems to be some misunderstanding about private collectors. Some of my friends in libraries seem to have the idea that the private collector is a rich, reckless buyer who interferes with the normal library processes by invidiously snapping up most of the items wanted by that library. The private collector is imagined to be almost everything except what he really is. I know personally perhaps two hundred private collectors. By correspondence I know twice as many more. Among my best buyers are men of small means, men who use their brains far more than their purses, men who know what they want and watch for it to appear at prices within their small budgets. It does not take big money to collect—my average sale is under $2.50 and I think that is true among many, even the great majority of other dealers. Among my best buyers are teachers, clerks, druggists, automobile salesmen, small-town lawyers and doctors, traveling salesmen, factory workers. And so help me, I've had four on WPA who have continued their collecting. Definitely, then, collecting is not a rich man's hobby; literally thousands of financially poor persons engage in it. Just as in any other form of human endeavor, a few become rich and famous.

But the librarian must not wait for the private collector to become either rich or famous. Hunt him out in your own community, in your own field of specialization. Hunt him while he's hard to find. He is shy, he is lonesome, and he craves to talk and write to people who have similar interests. Especially does he long to show his collection to someone with an intelligent interest. Let the librarian ask his opinion and borrow an item from him once in a while, but be sure to *return it promptly and undamaged.* And nine times out of ten, the library will not *have* to "wonder what he's going to do with his collection."

In the beginning nearly all collectors flounder around. They buy without aim or purpose—many of them never do settle down to a fixed plan. The only guides they have are catalogues, and occasionally but not often, some example in a well-known collection. That is the time the private collector needs help, direction, encouragement and coöperation.

On this subject of coöperation with private collectors, it may not be amiss to mention the dealer's part. Much of this missionary work among beginning collectors will be done by dealers, as it has been done in the past. The dealer's immediate financial profit is apparent as a sufficient motive for doing it. There are efficient dealers and the other sort; honest, earnest, conscientious, well-informed dealers and others less so. Librarians ought to know which is which and remember that a raw deal has killed many a promising beginning collector. It's his pride that's hurt at being a sucker—not his pocketbook. Intelligent coöperation in the beginning stages of private collecting will give any library an unfailing future supply of "angels."

These angels can be recognized and encouraged before their wings are strong enough for full flight. If you can't wangle places for them on your library board, make them honorary Vice Presidents or Members of the Advisory Committee. You'll find upon inquiry that private collectors are good citizens, perhaps even as able and serviceable to a library as existing board members who

are chosen because of local politics, Dun & Bradstreet rating, social eminence, or scholarly attainments. The private collector generally lacks some of these qualifications, but he knows his books and after all a library has to have *some* books and at least the *hope* of getting others. So why not have somebody on the board or elsewhere, who knows about *books*? At least it would be a comfort to the librarian who has bought an expensive needful item, to have an understanding board member put in a good word concerning the librarian's suspected sanity in making the purchase. So, in return for any help librarians can give the private collector, they may expect help from him if they will give him an opportunity to serve the library. Thus working together, you will save what is now often wasted. Due to the ignorance by librarians of the existence of private collectors in their own fields and communities and due to a subsequent lack of coöperation with them, many a worthy collection is carelessly dispersed or destroyed by heirs who "know the old man was cracked," daffy, somewhat *demented*, because he sometimes paid more for an old book than the price of a new one at the corner drug store. The best sort of librarian *prevents* such disasters by coöperating with collectors.

I should like to tell you some of the things which, from a dealer's standpoint, *you* can do to cut prices. I mean *cut all prices*, not just any one dealer's prices or any group of prices. You can—most of you—improve your buying methods, bring them up to the standard of the most business-like private collector. Search out the efficient dealers by a comparison of their prices and services and do your buying on a basis of value received. Let your dealers know what you want. Buying historical material is no different from buying groceries. You confide in your grocer that you want a can of salmon, a box of crackers and a pound of cheese. There are your *wants*. Certainly the grocer and his clerk *can* get together and say, "Here's a person who needs these items. Let's whoop up the price on 'em." The grocer can, but he doesn't.

The same thing is true in rare books and manuscripts. Pick your

dealers as carefully as you do your other tradesmen, tell them what you want and so long as they continue to serve you as well as does your grocer, trade with them. This is not a "once over" business, this buying and selling historical material. The one-timer buyer, even if he is unmercifully robbed, is not the source of profit to the dealer. The profit comes from steady "repeat" business, from customers whose wants are known, whose buying power is known; where there is mutual good faith between dealer and customer. These wise buyers use the services of their dealers to lengthen their arms, extend their range of vision. No buyer can be everywhere. A wise buyer using well chosen dealers, can be *almost* everywhere at the same time—and do his buying at an actual money saving. No good dealer *wants* to overcharge a customer—it simply does not make sense to do all the work necessary to earn the confidence of a customer and then kick over the whole thing by over charging him a few cents or a few dollars.

And librarians can cut the cost of selling by cutting out some of the silly practices some of them seem to enjoy. Some require numerous affidavits on bills. Some delay decision unreasonably (you can tell if you want an item the minute you see it and its price). And having delayed decision some librarians then delay returning an unwanted item. And sometimes they change their minds and want to return an item after buying it. Perhaps the dealer has already written another customer: The item has been sold. That is not so bad with books because the dealer can usually "find another"—that is, he can re-catalogue it as though he had actually found another. But the dealer cannot do that with a manuscript—there is only one and he obviously *cannot* find another. It should not be necessary to remind people not to copy or damage items sent on approval. Some of our best people are guilty of both; and of other wrongful things which add to the cost of selling historical material. How, you may ask, is copying wrong? In the first place, part of the money value in many manuscripts lies in the fact that there are no verbatim copies. Many autograph let-

ters and documents which have been published, have been edited —Mr. Jared Sparks and other writers are famous (or notorious) for their departures from the exact text.

In the second place, an increasing number of buyers ask as question No. 1 in considering buying a manuscript: Is it published? If the answer is yes—no sale. What is publication? Must it be in an easily available book? A periodical listed in the *Readers' Guide*? A newspaper? A broadside? Or may it be photostats, microfilms and other quick forms of reproduction exchanged among libraries and hence readily available? Whatever the answer, copying reduces the number of potential buyers and hence the money value of an item. It may be objected that the dealer has no title to the contents of a manuscript—that is said to reside in the writer and his heirs. The answer to this is that the dealer has spent his money for it, he has sent the manuscript on approval to a library—in trust—and when copies are taken without permission I can view it in no other light than theft; I see no difference between copying my manuscript and stealing gas out of my car while I'm parked in your door-yard.

I could, in fact I did and laid it aside, write a whole paper on the price-raising misdeeds of some librarians and private collectors. But price is not everything. It is less worth your attention than the more important constructive suggestions toward coöperation for the common good. Certainly by understanding each other, dealer, private collector and institution, and by working together, we shall all get nearer our common goal, which is, as I understand it: preserving yesterday's story for tomorrow.

AN ESKIMO TRANSLATION OF DEFOE'S "ROBINSON CRUSOE." GODTHAAB, GREENLAND, 1862-1865

By NATHAN VAN PATTEN

WILLIAM S. Lloyd issued his catalogue of various editions of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1915.[1] William P. Trent contributed an introduction to this catalogue in which he says:

> May your collection grow and grow! Every item you add augments the evidence that no other modern story has had so wide a circulation through the world, has so appealed to young and old alike, or has stimulated the genius of a large number of illustrators. And your hobby has this great advantage — you will never have occasion to lament with Alexander that you have reached the limits of possible conquest.

The first periodical published in Greenland was *Atuagagdliutit* of which the first issue appeared at Godthaab, January 1, 1861.[2]

Robinsonimik nukardlermik, a translation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* by J. Kjer, begins in No. 8 and continues as follows: No. 8, October 16, 1862, pp. [113-114], 115-128; No. 9, October 30, 1862, pp. [129-130], 131-144; No. 10, November 17, 1862, pp. [145-146], 147-160; No. 11, November 30, 1862, pp. [161-162], 163-176; No. 12, December 15, 1862, pp. [177-178], 179-192; No. 30, October 10, 1864, pp. [453-454], 455-468; No. 31, October 18, 1864, pp. [469-470], 471-484; No.

[1] William Supple Lloyd. *Catalogue of various editions of Robinson Crusoe and other books by and referring to Daniel Defoe. Library of William S. Lloyd, Germantown, Philadalphia* . . . Philadelphia, 1915. 43 pp.

[2] Nathan van Patten. *Printing in Greenland* . . . Stanford University, California, 1939. 40 pp.

32, October 28, 1864, pp. [485-486], 487-500; No. 33, November 8, 1864, pp. [501-502], 503-516; No. 34, November 18, 1864, pp. [517-518], 519-532; No. 35, November 25,

ATUAGAGDLIUTIT.

NALINGINARNIK TUSARUMINASASSUNIK UNIVKAT.

No. 8. Octobere 16. 1862.

Robinsonimik nukardlermik,

(J. Kjerip Amertlormiut Manitsormiutdlo palasiata nugtiga.)

Itsarôĸ igdlorpagssuarae Hamburgimik atilingne inoĸarpoĸ Robinsonimik taiutilingmik, pingasunik erneĸartumik. Angajugdleĸ zakutûnermut iliniaraluarpoĸ; pânermutdle átartugauvdlune kisianile Franskmait sorsungmata autdlaissauvdlune toĸutauvoĸ. Taussuma nuka iliniaraluardlune kiagungnermine nigdlingartumik imersimagame uingêrukiartuarsinardlune toĸuvoĸ.

Nukardlersât, Krusomik atilik, kisingorupoĸ. Tauna pivdlugo angajorĸak neriuteĸangâripuk; taunalo asaugarujâk, asassusiagdle sordlo silatûngilaĸ; tamassa akarisanguartik inerterserifigangamiko nalinginarnik piumassusianut, suliniarnermutdlo iliniarnermutdlo ilaginardlugo pingnarneĸ nuangnerinerungmago. Taimaitoĸ uvdlut nungudlugit pinguartipâk, tauvalo avdlamik ilĩniarsuseĸanginioĸ.

Inûsugtoĸ tauna Robinsone agdliartorpoĸ ilisimaitsûvdlune. Angutata sungiusarĸunialerpa pisiniarnermik. Tamánale âsit piumanago nunanut ungasigsunut autdlarumanerussumik unerpoĸ. Inusugtoĸ taima oĸarame iluaitsuliarpoĸ.

Nalinginarmik ajungitsumik iliniarêrsimagune nersornarnerusagaluarpoĸ. Atagule inûsugtoĸ nalinginaĸ sulisanerpa ungasigsumut angalatuinarniardlune Krusosut? Pivdluarumaniarângamik takornartat nunâne inuit, iliniarĸigsariaĸarput. Tamakole Krusup isumaliutigingilai.

Arfersaneĸ mardlungnik oĸioĸalernermine agdlat, pinguarsinarneĸ suliara. Uvdlut nungudlugit angune ĸinuvigisaraluarpa autdlarumaudlune, Angutâtale pissarpa: „autdlarnigssarnik tusarumangitdluinarpunga, ĸitornanguara"! Arnatalo pissarujâ: „tassanisinait perĸusersuitsumigdlo piniardlutit." Ilainile ilerĸune maliglugit umiarssualivingmut pisugtuarame, pinguarkame ilât, umiarssuit nalagâisa ilâta ernera aualaisassoĸ takuva angune ilagalugo Londonimut

Taimaĸatata aperimane ilaujumai-

1864, pp. [533-534], 535-548; No. 36, December 3, 1864, pp. [549-550], 551-558; No. 39, December 30, 1864, pp. [597-598], 599-612; No. 40, January 6, 1865, pp. [613-614], 615-628; No. 41, January 13, 1865, pp. [629-630], 631-639.

Atuagagdliutit was set in two columns to the page, and each column was separately numbered. A typical leaf would therefore consist of a page numbered 1 and 2 and one numbered 3 and 4. Upon this basis the text of the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* comprises 229 pages and approximately 38,472 words. Since Eskimo is an agglutinative language a comparison of the number of words in the English original with that of the Eskimo version would not reveal the extent to which this has been abridged.

The most interesting feature of this translation is the series of accompanying plates. These are lithographed in color and are, at least in part, the work of the Greenlander, Lars Møller. A list of these plates follows:

I. Indians dancing around a camp-fire. Opposite p. 117-118.
II. Robinson Crusoe cast ashore. Opposite p. 123-124.
III. Robinson Crusoe at the entrance to his cave. Opposite p. 149-150.
IV. Robinson Crusoe reclining in his cave. Opposite p. 155-156.
V. Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday. Opposite p. 425-426.
VI. Robinson Crusoe and Friday working outside their hut. Opposite p. 537-538.
VII. The rescue of Robinson Crusoe. Opposite p. 543-544.

It will be noted that plate V appears in an issue (No. 28, September 26, 1864) which does not contain an installment of the text.

The character of these plates suggests the probability that they were copied from an unidentified European or American edition.

REMARKS*

By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

IT seems to me that every bibliographer should try to formulate a definition of bibliography. That is not to say that he should write or publish an article about it. I mean only that he should think. "Your business as thinkers," it has been said, "is to make plainer the way from some thing to the whole of things: to show the rational connection between your fact and the frame of the universe." It is not necessary for the bibliographer to make that connection so obvious that everyone can understand it. There are so many people who cannot understand even the obvious. Moreover, many of the facts discovered by the bibliographer are apparently remote and many of his concepts are abstruse. My point is that he should never be discouraged by the enquiry "What is the use of it?" You remember that the cynical Pontius Pilate asked "What is the truth?" But you should also remember that Pilate would not wait for an answer. The person who asks you as to the use of your bibliographic researches frequently has no intention of listening to your answer, or, if he does listen, he is not always likely to comprehend what you are saying. I often think of bibliography as akin to, or analogous to, pure science. The findings of pure scientists are not always applied in the lifetime of the discoverer.

If the bibliographer has elucidated for only a few people the connection between his isolated finding and some general field, he has done something.

To some of us bibliography connotes book collecting, book description and the whole history of the text which goes to make up

* Read, upon retiring from the Presidency, at the Society's meeting held in Chicago, December 30, 1941.

the book. Yet anyone of the three is a sufficient life specialty for any one bibliographer. To my way of thinking the book collector comes first, because he provides the raw material for research. But we must have that historical bibliographer to tell us about the particular piece of that material with which we are dealing. He is also necessary in providing us with an accurate text. Moreover we must have the enumerative bibliographer to put the book in its proper position in relation to other books.

The bibliographer may glory in the fact that his world is books. Eugene Field once spoke of a man of his acquaintance and said, "He drew his inspiration not from books but from Nature. From all I have heard of him, I judge him to have been a very dull man." I have tried to put a similar idea a little differently, and not with Eugene Field's terseness.

I have often heard it said that education comes from life rather than from books. It is about time, I think, that someone admitted that smug remark to be a trifle hackneyed. To a large extent, it is nonsense. Our jails are full of people who have been educated in the University of Hard Knocks. Life, to be sure, is an educative process, but only in the same sense that the lower animals learn through experience. One of the essential differences between man and the lower animals is the fact that man keeps records. Each generation of men can begin where the previous generation left off, because it has the recorded experience of the past upon which to work. But each generation of dogs has to begin where the previous generation began. No, there is a great deal more to education than life and experience, and that great deal comes from books.

In trying to define bibliography you will inevitably try to justify your own particular obsession. At least I hope you will. For in that process you are apt to make an effort to show the connection between what you are doing and the frame of, at least *your* universe. This involves thinking—and thinking is not bad for the soul of anyone, even of bibliographers.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR., FREDERICK R. GOFF, GERALD D. MCDONALD, HOWARD S. MOTT, DAVID A. RANDALL, E. MILLICENT SOWERBY, LEWIS M. STARK AND EDWIN W. WILLOUGHBY.

Incunabula

OFFREDUS, APOLLINARIS. De primo et ultimo instanti adversus Petrum Mantuanum. [Pavia, Antonius Carcanus, after 25 June 1482] 4°.

36 leaves. Sig.: a-d^8, e^4. 40-41 lines. Type 4 :75 6 G, M 49.

1a, with sig.a.i.: Illuſtris philoſophi ⁊ medici Apoliãris Offr̃di Creõnẽſis d' p°. ⁊ ul | tío ɔti[sic] ĩ d'fẽſionẽ cõis opiioĩs adv̋ſ' Petrũ Mãtuanũ felicit' ĩcpit. | (d^4) Icem^{o} nat'al'ı ⁊c̃. Prío magiſter notât' dicit nat'al'ı loquẽ | tes . . . | leaf b: p̱tis ĩcipit aliqua p̱s augeri ergo totũ ĩcipit ẽę infinitu3 hec eni3 ○ña | 23a, line 25: Et ſic finẽ ĩpono huic laudabili opi Ad laudẽ . . . | line 32: . . . ⁊ oĩbus ſanctis eius Amẽ.25°.iunii.M°.cccc°lxxxii. | [^{2}]VERITVR p° Vtıũ diffinitio ſuppoſitõis . . . | 36b, line 39: . . .ad 3^{m} p'ncipale aduer | tendum primo. | FINIS. |

Perhaps the Martini copy, purchased by CSmH in 1925. Bound in vellum, circuit fore-edges, formerly with ties. Copious marginal notes in manuscript, c7-d5.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4038; *Second Census*, no. O 55.

—HERMAN R. MEAD

PHILIPPUS DE MONTE CALERIO. Dominicale. Abridged by Jonselmus de Canova. [Paris, Philippe Pigouchet, about 1500] 8°.

244 leaves. Sig.: a^8, b^4, a-z^8, aa-ff^8. 2 col. 52 lines. Type 7: 54/5 G (Claudin 2:55). init a? (12, and 15 mm. high). rubr ^{e}.

Imperfect: leaves 1 and 244, and quires i-n lacking.

leaf 1, title?, lacking. 2a, with sig. a ij, heading: Tabula alphabetica. | col. 1: (A^6)Bominatio. Quod | per abominationẽ deſola- | tionis ſedentẽ ĩ tẽplo intel | ligi põt antichriſtus. . . tabula ends, 10b, col. 2, line 36: ¶Finis tabule. | 11a, with sig.a, col. 1: ¶Incipit compendiũ poſtille edite a fra | tre Philippo de mõte calerio oɹdinis mi- | noɹũ abbɹeuiatũ p̱ fratrẽ Jonſelmũ ed ca | noua de cumis: tũc cuſtodẽ cumanũ eiuſ | dem oɹdinis. ¶Dñica pɹima de aduento | dñi. Euãgeliũ

pꝛimũ. Expoſitio pꝛima. (E⁹)Runt ſigna in ſo | le ⁊ luna ⁊ſtellis ⁊c | Luce .xxj. . . . leaf b: reuocare ⁊ ideo vocat iꝑm vel ꝑ internã in | 243a, col. 2, line 39: . . . quatenus ad gloꝛia3 peruenıat | ſempiternam. Ad quam ille nos ⁊c. | ¶Explicit compendium poſtille edite | a fratre Philippe de monte Calerio ab- | bꝛeuiatum per Fratrem Jonſelmum de | Canoua de Cumis: tunc Cuſtodem Cu | manum oꝛdinis minoꝛum. | [register, 3 lines] | 243b: blank. leaf 244, blank?, lacking.

The Sir Thomas Phillipps copy, purchased October 1923. Bound in stamped calf, considerably worn, formerly with ties; inside front cover, shelf-mark: XCVII.g.13. In manuscript at head of 2a: Societatis Jeſu Friburgi Heluetiorũ. Some leaves as y 5-7 and aa 6 have copious manuscript notes in the margins. Apparently the only known copy.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4617; *Second Census*, no. P 574.

—Herman R. Mead

Recollectio epistolarum et prophetiarum. [Salamanca, Printer of Nebrissensis *Introductiones*, 1st roman group, about 1485] 4°.

98 leaves. Sig.: a-i⁸, l-m⁸, n¹⁰. 27 lines. Type 3:115R, Q | u.

Imperfect: leaves a 1-2, d 4, e 4, f 1-2, f 8, and n 10 lacking.

leaves 1-2 lacking. 3a, with sig. a.iii.: Quia unu3 uocaui eũ & bñdixi eũ & multiplicaui eũ. | a8: pie uiuamus in hoc ſeculo. Expetantes beatam ſpem | (*cf.* this with leaf b in Haebler 570) leaf b: eũ huiuſcemodi a magnifica glĩa. Hic ẽ eĩm filiꝰ me | 75b, line 19: . . .Et dixit qui ſedebat ĩ throno. Ecce no | ua facio omĩa. | finis. | 75a, with sig. 1.iiii.: incipiunt epiſtole proprie ſcõrum. | In uigilia ſãcti andree. Lcõ libri ſapĩe. Ecclĩaſtici | capitulo.xliiii. &.xlv. | [²]Enedictio dñi ſuper caput iuſti. . . . | (*cf.* 75b and 76a with those readings in Haebler 570) 97b, line 25: . . .Machabeorũ.ii.ca.xii. | [²]N diebus illis: Vir fortissimꝰ iudas collatione | facta:duodecĩ milia drachmas argẽti miſit hie | leaf 98 lacking.

Not Haebler 570. The Maggs copy, 402:659. Bound in old limp vellum, with ties.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 5153; *Second Census*, no. R 34.

—Herman R. Mead

English Books, 1475-1800

Davies, John (1565?-1618). Wittes pilgrimage. London [1605?]

STC 6344. There are variations in different copies of this work. The catchword on G4 verso occurs correctly printed *Looke* and also occurs incorrectly printed *The*.

—E. Millicent Sowerby

Great Britain. Parliament. Directions of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament . . . for the electing and choosing of Ruling-Elders

. . . for the speedy setling of the Presbyteriall-Government . . . London, 1645.

In the "Bibliographical Notes" of the B.S.A. *Papers*, v. 35, p. 204, Prof. A. T. Hazen describes four editions of the above pamphlet in the Yale Library.

He mentions another edition, not at Yale, but recorded in the *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection* at Union Theological Seminary. There are two copies (Bridgewater and Brooke) of this edition in the Huntington Library. The imprint reads: *LONDON*, | Printed for *John Wright* at the ſigne of the Kings-head | in the Old baily. *Auguſt* 20. 1645. | ; it has "Presbyteriall" on the title-page; the Parliamentary order is in italic type, with c. *T* in "*That*" and l.c. *e* in "electing"; p. 3, the penultimate line reads "*Anne Blackfriers*"; and p. 6 has "Eight Claſſis." Prof. Hazen and I believe this should be considered the first edition in the sequence.

—Herman R. Mead

Americana

An Address to a Deist, a poem. New London, 1796. pp. 12.

AAS has acquired a copy of this work in which the following note, in contemporary handwriting, has been pasted to the title-page: "Vail's Address to a deist." In Isaac Parson's *Memoir of the life and character of Rev. Joseph Vaill*, N.Y. 1839, p. 76, is the following statement: ". . . In addition to these, his poetical 'Address to a Deist,' may be named as an illustration of his shrewdness in exposing the folly and fallacy of the Deist's principles." *Evans* and other bibliographers have listed the work only under title.

—Clarence S. Brigham

[Caraccioli, Louis Antoine de] (1721-1803). Advice from a lady of quality to her children; in the last stage of a lingering illness; tr. from the French, by S. Glasse . . . The 3d ed. Newbury-Port, Pr. by John Mycall, for William Green at Boston [1789].

2 v. 15cm. Bowe;CSmH;MH;etc.

The *Advice from a lady of quality to her children* has had several editions in America, and all the library card catalogues I have seen list the work anonymously. The Library of Congress Depository Card Catalogue, Evans' *Amer. Biblio.*, Parsons' *Early Cath. Amer.*, Halkett and Laing's *Dict. of Anon. and Pseud. Eng. Lit.*, and other printed catalogues, likewise list the work anonymously. Halkett and Laing lists an English edition of the work without the name of the author, giving only S. Glasse as the translator. Parsons lists the work as Catholic because the "Lady of Quality" addresses one chapter to her son, a priest. Now that the author is known to be Caraccioli, it will be necessary for Father Parsons to decide whether the author was actually a Catholic.

The author of the *Advice from a lady of quality* was found by checking a clue found in "The Translator's Preface" of one of the editions. The Preface says that in one of Pope Ganganelli's letters the work is honorably mentioned, as being a

complete treatise on education. Now these letters by Ganganelli [Pope Clement XIV] were published by Caraciolli and are said to be largely apocryphal. In an English translation of the letters, purporting to be by Pope Clement XIV, one reads in Letter 122: ". . . I return you a thousand thanks for the books you was so obliging as to send me, and which has for its Title *Les Derniers Adieux de la Marechale à ses Enfans*: It is sentimental, and makes such lively impressions upon the heart, that I was very deeply affected with it. You should give it to us in Italian; and the rather, as I look upon it to be a complete treatise on education." Thus it is seen that in Caraciolli's own publication (that dealing with Pope Clement XIV), the author recommends *Les derniers adieux de la maréchale à ses enfants*. Barbier, in his *Dict. des ouvrages anon.*, attributes this latter work to Caraciolli, the author of the work which recommends it. The French original has not been found in America, but photostat samples from a copy of a Paris, 1769, edition in the British Museum, compared with American editions in the Bowe collection, show that the English version is a close translation of the French.

— Forrest B. Bowe

Bryce, James Bryce, viscount (1838-1922). The American commonwealth. London, 1888.

In a recent book catalogue Charles P. Everitt of New York offered for sale a "genuine first edition" of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, published in three volumes by Macmillan in London in 1888. In a note describing this item, Mr. Everitt made the following comment: "I get much bored by seeing the two-volume edition of same year listed as 'First Edition.' " Mr. Everitt is justified in his criticism for certainly Bryce's classic work was first published in three volumes. It is so listed in the *English Catalogue of Books*, Vol. IV, 1881-1889, p. 78, where no mention is made of the two-volume edition. The new *General Catalogue of Printed Books* of the British Museum also lists the three-volume Bryce (Vol. 27, p. 489), and likewise has no entry for the two-volume edition. Assuredly if the latter edition had been the first, it would have been included in the British Museum collection. Furthermore, it was the three-volume edition which was used by Lord Acton for his famous review in the *English Historical Review*, Vol. 4, April, 1889, p. 388. *Book-Prices Current*, London, and *American Book-Prices Current*, in notes of sales of first editions of *The American Commonwealth*, invariably refer to the three-volume London edition of 1888.

It is true that a two-volume edition was published in 1888. Notice of its appearance was made in the *American Catalogue*. This was the edition used by Woodrow Wilson in his critical essay published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. IV, March, 1889, p. 153-169. Support for this statement is found in Mr. Wilson's footnote references to Bryce's text.

If further proof were needed concerning the relative claims of the three- and two-volume editions of 1888, it is to be found in *Bryce's American Commonwealth Fiftieth Anniversary*, a series of essays edited by Robert C. Brooks (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939). Aside from the comment that "unless otherwise stated all references to this work are to the first three-volume edition of 1888" (p. 221, note 5), this book contains an interesting sales record of Bryce's

American Commonwealth, noting the publication of the first edition in 1888 and a "cheap edition" the same year. This "cheap edition" is the one in two volumes which was printed in smaller type than the one in three volumes and which compressed all of the material into shorter space. It also necessitated a re-arrangement of some of the items in the appendix. Nothing was omitted from it, however, and it contains the chapter on the Tweed Ring which was dropped from later editions. Further information on the subject was supplied to the editor of the anniversary essays by the London office of Macmillan and Company, Ltd., as follows: "The first edition of *The American Commonwealth* was published in three volumes on December 11, 1888, and consisted of 2,500 copies, which were sold almost entirely in England. A two-volume edition was printed for America at the same time, the work not being issued in this form in England until December, 1889" (p. 239).

—Everett S. Brown

Leonard, H. L. W. Oregon Territory: | Containing | A Brief, but Authentic Account | of | Spanish, English, Russian, and American | Discoveries | on the | North-West Coast of America. | Also, | The Different Treaty Stipulations Confirming the | Claim of the | United States, | and Overland Expeditions to the Columbia River, | with Incidents of | Peril and Adventure | Connected with their History, &c., &c. | [short rule] | By H. L. W. Leonard, Esq. | [short rule] | Cleveland: | Younglove's Steam Press. | 1846.

iv,88p. 10.8 x 17.5 cm.

In blue paper wrappers, printed within ornamental border:

Price Twenty-Five Cents. | [double rule] | History | of | Oregon Territory | from its | First Discovery | up to | the Present Time; | with Incidents of | Peril and Adventure, Beyond the Rocky Mountains. | [wavy line] | Cleveland: | Younglove's Steam Press. | 1846.

Printed back wrapper within double-rule border:

Emigrant Route, | from | Missouri to Oregon. | [follows brief description of the route via Fort Laramie, South Pass, Forts Hall, Boise, Wallawalla, and the "Dalls" to Fort Vancouver and Oregon City, with itinerary and distances, terminating:] Total from Westport to Oregon City, 2,040 miles.

Not in *Sabin, Wagner-Camp, Smith, Bancroft et al.*; no copy in auction records; and none recorded in the *Union Catalogue*. Apparently the only located copy is in the collection of W. R. Coe, Esq., Oyster Bay.

—Charles Eberstadt

The Mother-in-Law; or Memoirs of Madam De Morville. By Maria-Ann Burlingham. Boston, 1817. 190 p.

In a letter among MWA manuscripts, written by Horatio Gates Spafford to the Rev. William Bently, February 17, 1817, Spafford says: "For certain purposes, I

could not desire a vehicle so well adapted, as a *Novel*; I have written one, that I might have the opportunity which this species of composition presented. It is anonymous, so I must not be known as the Writer. In order to conceal the Authorship, it is published at Boston, where my autography is not known to all the printers. 'The Mother-in-Law, or Memoirs of Madam De Morville, by M. Ann Burlingham.' I have directed my publisher to send thee a copy, & earnestly hope it may merit thy approbation. The composition occupied me 1 day short of 3 weeks, & I only mention by way of apology for its faults. How it is printed I know not, as none have yet reached me. Shouldst thou Review, or notice at all, this little *Child of Mine*, please have the goodness to send thy Paper containing thy observations."

—CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

TO all brave, healthy, able bodied, and well disposed young men, in this neighbourhood, who have any inclination to join the troops, now raising under General Washington, for the defence of the liberties and independence of the United States, against the hostile designs of foreign enemies, Take Notice. . . [*n.p.*, 1799].

Evans 15103 and *Sabin* 95882 both date the above recruiting poster 1776, with Philadelphia as the probable place of printing, and record only one original, that in PPH. The poster, with figures of soldiers illustrating the manual of arms, has been reproduced several times as a Revolutionary War item, notably in John Jay Smith's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, 2d series, New York, 1860, plate XI. A check of internal evidence, however, indicates that it was probably issued in 1799 during the French war scare, when Washington was chosen commander-in-chief of the provisional army.

The poster states (original partly filled out in MS.) "That [Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday and Saturday at Spotswood in Middlesex] county, attendance will be given by [Lieutenant Reading(?)] with his music and recruiting party of [words crossed out] company in [Major Shutes Battalion] of the 11th regiment infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Ogden. . ."

The article on Ogden in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* states that "he was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the 11th U.S. infantry on 8 Jan., 1799, and was made on 26 Feb., 1800, deputy quartermaster-general of the U.S. army, which place he held until the provisional army was disbanded on 15 June, 1800." These dates are confirmed in F. B. Heitman's *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army*, Washington, 1893, and *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Washington, 1903.

—LEWIS M. STARK

Modern Literature

The Blackwater Chronicle. New York, 1853.

The authorship of this book is usually ascribed to John Pendleton Kennedy. It is so ascribed by Foley, Merle Johnson and Henderson. A contemporary publisher's advertisement quotes from a reviewer who said that it was by the own brother of

the author of *Swallow Barn*. Edward M. Gwathmey in his *John Pendleton Kennedy*, New York: Thomas Nelson, 1931, says: "John Pendleton was the eldest of four sons. Philip Kennedy, the youngest, gave considerable promise as a writer in his *Blackwater Chronicle*."

—HOWARD S. MOTT

BROOKE, RUPERT (1887-1915). The Collected Poems of Rupert Brooke. New York, John Lane, MCMXV.

It has not been known, I believe, that there is a special edition, bound from the sheets, of this work. Following page 168 this edition has a leaf tipped in reading:

> Of the first edition of this book one thousand copies have been printed. Of these, one hundred have been especially bound for the Woodberry Society, and signed and numbered by Mr. Woodberry.
>
> This is No. —

A leaf headed "A Note for this Edition" is tipped between the title-page and the first leaf of Introduction and tipped in between pages 104-[105] is a portrait of Rupert Brooke, and between pages 126-127, a facsimile of a page of manuscript. These apparently appear nowhere else. The binding is green boards, black cloth back, white paper label on spine lettered, within a red single line border, THE | COLLECTED | POEMS | OF | RUPERT | BROOKE | [short black rule] | JOHN LANE | COMPANY.

—DAVID A. RANDALL

GREY, ZANE (1872-1939). Riders of the Purple Sage. By Zane Grey. Harper & Brothers Publishers. New York and London MCMXII.

There are two states of the first edition of this famous western novel. One has the copyright notice in the center of the verso of the title as follows:

> Copyright, 1912, By Harper & Brothers | [rule] | Printed in the United State of America | Published January, 1912

The page is otherwise blank.

The variant state has the identical copyright notice at the foot of the page and the center has, within a single rule box, advertisements of four of the author's previous works.

—DAVID A. RANDALL

MOORE, GEORGE (1852-1933). Confessions of a Young Man. London, 1888.

A few copies of this book exist with an unflattering photographic frontispiece of the author. It is said that Moore objected to this (understandably) and the etched frontispiece by William Strang was substituted after about twenty copies with the earlier frontispiece had been released.

—HOWARD S. MOTT

REVIEWS

MAYER, CLAUDIUS F. . . . *Bio-Bibliography of XVI. Century Medical Authors By Claudius F. Mayer, M. D. Editor of the Index-Catalogue* [*Fasciculus 1, Abarbanel — Alberti, S.*] . . . United States Government Printing Office, Washington: 1941. xi, 52 pp. Ports. 11¼ x 7⅝ inches. 20 cents.

The Library of the Surgeon General's Office, United States Army, now known as the Army Medical Library, has been in the forefront in providing medical literature and bibliographical service for the medical profession of the country. Its *Index Catalogue of Medical Literature*, published continuously from 1880 to date, is the greatest bibliographical tool in the field of medicine and not excelled by any other work in any other field of knowledge. For many years, 1879-1927, the monthly *Index Medicus* was issued by the Library as a subsidiary to the *Index Catalogue*. Now, again the Library proposes to embark upon a stupendous bibliography in the field of medicine and the allied sciences; the listing of all works by sixteenth-century physicians, and works relating to medicine by all authors of that period.

Fifteenth-century books have been extensively studied and listed almost to the point of exhaustion. Dr. Arnold Klebs in his *Incunabula Scientifica et Medica*, Bruges, 1938, has covered the field of medicine and allied sciences.

The sixteenth-century book, as a class, has been neglectd by bibliographers, especially in medicine; and during the past few years a fast increasing interest has been shown by collectors in works of this period.

It is quite true that Panzer in his *Annales Typographici*, volumes six to ten, Nuremberg, 1798-1802, covered the period of 1501-1536; and Robert Proctor and Frank Isaac in part two of *An Index to Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, London, 1903-1938, covered the period of 1501-1525, the countries of Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Eastern Europe. Both of the works are compiled from the typographical viewpoint, and both are incomplete. Panzer missed many medical and allied items, which is not surprising, when one considers that he worked in the last years of the eighteenth century. The Proctor-Isaac work, while much later, is confined to books in the British Museum and has not covered all the European countries; France, Spain and the Netherlands are unfortunately lacking for the present. These two works have to do only with the first quarter of the sixteenth century, compiled on the theory that early printed

books for the purpose of study should be divided into two classes, those printed before 1481 and the period of 1481-1525.

Medical and allied items are found scattered through all classes of bibliographies: national, for example, Palau, *Manual del Librero Hispano-Americano*, Barcelona, 1923-1927, and the *Repertoire de Bibliographie française*, 1501-1930, Paris, begun in 1937 and issued in fasciculi; general, such as Graesse, *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux*, Dresden, 1859-1867; subject, Pritzel, *Thesaurus Literaturae Botanicae*, Leipzig, 1872, Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Glasgow, 1906, and Poggendorff, *Bibliographisch-literarisches Handwörterbuch zur Geschichte der exacten Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1863-1904; and personal, *Symphorien Champier* by Allut, Lyon, 1859, and *Ambroise Paré* by Doe, Chicago, 1937.

It is quite evident that a comprehensive bibliography of sixteenth-century authors in the field of medicine would be invaluable to all scholars and Dr. Mayer should be encouraged in every way possible to carry on his idea to completion, despite the vicissitudes of the current war.

The work is being issued as a supplement to the Fourth Series of the *Index Catalogue* of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office (Army Medical Library). It is reprinted by the Government Printing Office and the first part of fifty-two pages is sold at the nominal price of twenty cents a copy.

The complete work will be divided into four parts: Section A. Authors. Sixteenth century. This is the main part of the work, and the first to be published. It is arranged in a single alphabet of authors who come within the general chronological limits of the sixteenth century. Persons born late in the fifteenth century are naturally found in this list as their period of activity was in the later century. Collections are entered under the editors. List A contains, first, the names of authors who practiced or studied medicine. All their published works are listed, medical and non-medical, with all subsequent editions. Second, names of non-medical authors whose works are related to medicine and allied sciences. Third, names of literary persons whose works were of medico-literary significance. Fourth, the names of editors, translators, illustrators, etc., if they were physicians, or their works of medical interest.

Section B. Ancient and mediaeval authors published in the sixteenth century.

Section C. Appendices relating to sections A and B. Lists of printers and publishers; editors, translators, etc.; reference works consulted; true and fictitious places; etc.

Section D. Indices, personal names and polyglot subject index.

In compiling his list of names, Dr. Mayer has used every available source of information. The lists are then checked by a group of prominent medical libraries whose holdings are then included in the printed work, making the work invaluable to all libraries and scholars. The form of entry is comprehensive and extensive, comprising the name of the author with synonyms and pseudonyms; a short biography and frequently a portrait; a check-list of works where they are extensive; descriptions of the works with all editions listed, including translations; holdings of a number of prominent libraries in the United States; etc.

Certain procedures employed by Dr. Mayer are not in accord with modern cataloguing methods. The entry for anonymous works is made under the first noun of the title, a practice which is going to lead to confusion to those using the list. This leads to a perpetuation of the catch name title used in the short title list of English books, 1475-1640. Modern cataloguing practice specifies entry under the first word not an article or preposition. For instance, Dr. Mayer states that the anonymous work entitled *Ain nützliches Regiment* will be entered arbitrarily under "Regiment." The reviewer trusts that Dr. Mayer will for the sake of uniformity abandon this style of entry and conform to modern procedure.

The author entry is made under the name in the vernacular language of the author's own country. This is going to lead to some confusion as modern practice in cataloguing early books calls for the use of the form of name best known. Dr. Mayer evidently is going to make some exceptions. Rudolf Agricola will be found under R. Huisman, while George Bauer will be found under his commonly known name of Georgius Agricola. The compiler has the right to fix his own style entry but if an uncommon form is used, all necessary cross references must be included in the bibliography. Places of publication are also given in the vernacular, but one notices twenty-one entries of the Roman Lugduni instead of the French Lyon. Also Constantinople appears in two forms.

The numbering of entries is taken from Klebs and is a decimal system with all its disadvantages. Librarians know well what a dropped decimal point may lead to. Number 1 point 1 (1.1) by the omission of the point becomes No. 11. A dash (–) is recommended instead of the decimal point.

The typographical style and use of type is excellent, except that it would be a great convenience to users if the names of libraries holding copies were printed in a bold face type, such as is used for titles. Also it is suggested that the holding libraries be arranged in two groups, American and European, each group arranged alphabetically, the American placed first. This arrangement would be helpful to the user.

Dr. Mayer intimates that when the sixteenth-century work is finished, it will be followed by a similar work for the seventeenth century. Long may he live and prosper so that the present may be finished and the future begun!

JAMES F. BALLARD

JOHNSON, MERLE. *American First Editions. Fourth Edition. Revised and Enlarged by Jacob Blanck.* New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1942. xviii, 553 pp. 9⅛ x 6⅛ inches. $10.00

The first edition of this work was published in 1929. In the preface to the second edition, 1932, the many errors in the first edition were attributed to its being a "pioneer" work, and much of the space used in vaguely advocating the idea of establishing priority of portions of an edition by the wear or imperfections of type. Had it not been for his untimely death, this would have been elaborated by Mr. Johnson in a brochure on the subject.

The third edition (the first revised by Mr. Blanck) appeared in 1936, with 110 additional pages and showing much improvement over the earlier editions. In the preface to this third edition, Mr. Blanck said:

> The present revision is offered . . . with no apology for the errors but with an honest admission of the shortcomings, pointing out that many of the old stumps and stones have been cleared away, certain doubts removed, and certain once questionable points of issue definitely determined. This volume is not intended as a substitute for the extant bibliographies of American authors, but as a source of information concerning those authors whose enthusiasts have not yet offered a complete bibliographical record. The collector is at all times urged to consult the standard bibliographies, if such there are.

Mr. Blanck deserves credit for these clear and frank admissions of the limitations of this work at that time.

Merle Johnson was primarily a book speculator. He had little or no bibliographical training or aptitude, no passion for accuracy, and the principal aim was to make his publications helpful or contributory to his collecting adventures. In this new fourth edition Mr. Blanck makes it very clear that he is not disposed to follow in the footsteps of Johnson. In his preface he loses no time in discarding Johnson's pet ideas of collecting "high spots." Mr. Blanck says:

> Since first publication, *American First Editions* has seen changes in book collecting. A significant period in American book collecting habits was that that saw the rise and the current decline of collecting by list. It is more than barely possible that there will be an even more marked return to the older (and wiser) method of collecting everything by a given author, rather than the collecting of a selected group of books [high spots] which, for one reason or another, have eclipsed far too many books that are worth the attention of the bibliophiles.

There are many other indications of progress along sound lines of collecting.

Mr. Johnson was not a pioneer in the field of enumerating first editions of American authors. The real pioneer of record was Leon & Brother, New York booksellers, who published a catalogue, *First Editions of American Authors*, in 1885, the year after The Grolier Club was organized. This catalogue represented a larger number of authors than even the fourth edition of Johnson's book, and a preface believed to have been written by Beverly Chew, contained the following words:

> . . . A hopeful sign of future book-collecting is exhibited in the fact that the Bibliophiles of America are emulating their brethren of the Old World in placing upon their shelves first editions. . . . As the English collector hunts for Shakespeare, Milton, Thackeray or Shelley, the French for Ronsard, Villon, Montaigne, Musset and Hugo, so the prudent American delves into stores and catalogues for copies of Mather, Franklin, Irving, Poe, Prescott, Longfellow, Lowell, Aldrich, and the rest of the guild of our more famous writers. Blurred in type and printed on indifferent paper, as some of them are, these first editions of the writings of our great authors are to-day, in many cases, worth their weight in gold. Not only are they of increasing value day by day, but they are of the highest bibliographical and literary interest. . . .

Eight years after the publication of this catalogue (1893), Stone & Kimball published *First Editions of American Authors* compiled by Herbert Stuart Stone, with an introduction by Eugene Field. In 1897, P. K. Foley edited and published *American Authors, 1795-1895, A Bibliography of First and Notable Editions Chronologically Arranged with Notes*. Both of these works listed a larger number of authors than Johnson's work, and are still used for information not obtainable elsewhere. Had Foley's work, published forty-five years ago, been brought down to date, it would have been a better guide because it would have been more comprehensive, superior bibliographically, and have had a sounder influence on collecting.

The fourth edition contains fifty more pages than the third, although the elimination of authors outnumbers the additions. Moreover, these changes represent a loss rather than a gain, so far as the importance of the substitutions is concerned. This is quickly obvious to those who use the book. It is amazing that a work of this kind, designed for booksellers, collectors, scholars and librarians, should have passed by so many important authors in American belles-lettres — poetry, history, fiction, criticism and general literature. Among them are a score of authors, who made outstanding contributions to the thought, spiritual life and literature of their time: Lydia Maria Child, John W. De Forest, William Dunlap, Timothy Flint, Margaret Fuller, John Fiske, Edward Everett Hale, Paul Hamilton Hayne, Charles Godfrey Leland, John Lothrop Motley, John Neal, John Howard Payne, William H. Prescott, Catherine M. Sedg-

wick, Harriet Spofford, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Richard Henry Stoddard, Bayard Taylor, Henry Timrod and Charles Dudley Warner. These authors through their literary achievements are a living force in America to-day, widely read, and their writings generally found in all important private and public libraries. And this is not all; there are scores of other authors of immortal prose and poetry — including writers of the *Declaration of Independence*, *The Crisis*, *The Gettysburg Address*, *The Star-Spangled Banner*, *America*, and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* — who have received the same treatment. Space was used for the unimportant and many vitally essential authors were neglected.

This review should close with a constructive suggestion. *American First Editions* should be newly planned to meet present needs and entirely rewritten according to the best bibliographical standards. Mr. Blanck has done the best he could with his two revisions and enlargements, but he knows better than anyone else what an impossible task he has had. He is still a young man, located in a position that gives him great resources, and is taking what amounts to a post-graduate course in practical bibliography. He is in a position to invite widespread coöperation, and the undertaking would be a congenial one. He is the man to undertake the new work in this field. When the first edition of Johnson's work was published it may have been regarded as a speculation. In a little over a decade, three editions of a thousand copies at $10.00 a copy have been sold, and the sale of the fourth is well on the way. It has proved a profitable venture. There is need for the right kind of book in this field, and it would not be a speculation. Its ultimate publication is a certainty. The present publisher should be interested in meeting this need.

MICHAEL PAPANTONIO

BROWN, KARL. *A Guide to the Reference Collections of The New York Public Library. Compiled by Karl Brown.* New York, The New York Public Library, 1941. xiv, 416 pp. Plates (facsims.). 10 x 7 inches. $4.50.

In 1937 The New York Public Library issued an Index to its *Bulletin*, Vols. 1-40, and gave to the subscribers a useful key to the contents of a publication which for forty years had been one of the most important American bibliographical periodicals. This Index has now been supplemented by the even more valuable *Guide to the Reference Collections of The New York Public Library*, compiled by Karl Brown. With the two available, the resources of what is perhaps as well-rounded a reference and research collection as has ever been gathered together are listed and described in a way that cannot be done by a card catalogue alone.

During the ninety-seven years since the *Serapeum* published Hermann Ludewig's descriptions of the libraries in the United States, there have been a number of attempts to describe in more or less detail American libraries and their collections: Charles C. Jewett's *Notices of Public Libraries in the United States of America*, Washington, 1851; Edward Edwards's *Memoirs of Libraries*, London, 1859; the 1876 Bureau of Education report on *The Public Libraries in the United States*; and *Special Collections in Libraries in the United States*, by W. Dawson Johnston and Isadore G. Mudge, Washington, 1912, may be mentioned as a few of the compilations of this character. In the earlier part of this period, even the larger libraries printed their catalogues in book form and thus made less necessary more generalized descriptions. But as libraries grew larger, that became more difficult. The last printed catalogue of the Harvard Library appeared in 1830; that of the Library of Congress in 1869, with supplements up to 1875; and of the Astor Library in 1886-88. With the discontinuance in the United States of the practice of printing catalogues in book form, the need for guides, such as the one now under consideration, for each important library or for libraries in a single city or region, became greater each year, but all too little progress was made. Alfred C. Potter's *The Library of Harvard University: Descriptive and Historical Notes* in four editions, the latest in 1934; and Robert W. G. Vail's volume, *A Guide to the Resources of the American Antiquarian Society*, have been noteworthy examples of useful efforts in the right direction. The American Library Association Board on Resources of American Libraries has in recent years tried to promote publications of this type, and in its volume covering the *Resources of Southern Libraries* has made progress. The volume *Philadelphia Libraries*, just published by the Bibliographical Planning Committee of Philadelphia, was another attempt to help things along.

Meanwhile, Karl Brown had been at work following out a plan that had its origin at least as far back as the twenties. The first visible results of his labors were printed in the *Bulletin* of The New York Public Library, beginning in May 1935. Additional sections appeared in that publication at frequent intervals in the months that followed until February 1941, and in the autumn of the latter year the completed volume, in 416 pp., came from the press, reprinting the sections as they had come out in the *Bulletin*, and thus of necessity duplicating the typography of that publication.

To describe the *Guide* or to comment on it in detail is impossible within the limits of this review. The compilation is a truly monumental one. The Index alone consists of 128 two-column pages with something like 20,000 references. (The Index is easy to use but when the references

found there are looked up in the body of the work by a librarian working under pressure with an inquirer in front of him waiting impatiently, he may have trouble in finding his place quickly in the closely set text.) The volume as a whole presents a precise, systematic statement — conservative and restrained in tone — describing the collections of the Library. The arrangement of the body of the work follows the Library's classification, and under each class is recorded its extent and character, its strength and its weaknesses. A list is given of related subjects and classmarks. Special collections acquired *en bloc* by gift or purchase are noted. Reference is made to more detailed descriptions to be found elsewhere. Reports of special catalogues and indexes kept in the Library, and files of clippings and ephemera are included. And finally a record of reference lists that have been published in the *Bulletin* is provided. The items referred to in the preceding sentences are almost unbelievably numerous and probably cannot be approached in extent in any other library.

While the description of the collections is the primary purpose of the volume, attention should be called to the *Summary* of The New York Public Library classification, which has never before been made generally available; to the glossary of special terms used (something that library publications too often need because of the technical jargon they contain — a jargon which librarians tend to forget is not intelligible to the layman and research worker); and to the *History of the Catalogues*, not of cataloguing, of the Library, by Wyllis E. Wright, which gives some idea of the vicissitudes which the art of cataloguing has experienced in the last hundred years.

No attempt will be made here to record the errors which have crept into the volume. Mistakes are bound to occur in a compilation containing perhaps a hundred thousand definite facts and figures. The work has been carefully and well done, and such errors as may be found in it are not of a serious nature. The important fact is that here for the first time can be found a detailed description of a great reference and research library that will make it possible for a scholar — at Berkeley, California, for instance to learn, while working in his own library, whether the resources of another great research library in his special field of interest, but which is three thousand miles away, are of such a character that he should investigate them further. If the forty-seven libraries in the Association of Research Libraries and a comparatively small number of the large, specialized collections, dealing with more limited fields of knowledge, could issue similar works as well as record their holdings of individual volumes in the Union Catalogue at the Library of Congress, the way of the research worker

would be smoothed still further. The New York Public Library *Guide* is a long step in the right direction and a landmark on the road.

KEYES D. METCALF

ALDIS, HARRY G. *The Printed Book by Harry G. Aldis. The Second Edition Revised & brought up to date by John Carter and E. A. Crutchley . . .* Cambridge, England, At the University Press. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1941. vi, [4], 141, [1] pp. Illus., plates, facsims., type specimens. 6⅞ x 4½ inches. $1.50.

It is not surprising to find that a new edition of Harry G. Aldis's compact manual on *The Printed Book* should have seemed desirable to Messrs. Carter and Crutchley and to the Cambridge University Press which first published it in 1916, and reprinted it in 1917, 1921, and 1929.

The fields covered and the information presented in this pocket-size octavo are familiar to those who have looked into the standard works on bibliography, the invention and history of printing, the history of Western European scholarship in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, English literature, book illustration and bookbinding. It would be difficult, however, to find another small work which deals with all these subjects as intelligibly and interestingly as does the Aldis manual.

In the first four chapters, which deal with the invention and history of typography through the sixteenth century, the field is European; and some attention is given to Continental work in the chapters on Illustrations and Bookbinding. The remaining chapters, however, deal chiefly with English and American books.

The editors have done a certain amount of revising, rewriting, adding and subtracting, but have made no fundamental change in the contents and arrangement of the work. It is stated on the title-page that the new edition is "brought up to date." It may be interesting to illustrate this accomplishment by citing the opposing tastes of the author and the editors in the matter of edges. Aldis wrote in the first edition, pp. 140-141:

> Though the extended use of machinery has introduced a kind of ruthless element into modern book-construction, yet a considerable number of books are, happily, still issued uncut; and, surely, there are few more pleasurable times for the reading book-lover than the half-hour spent with the paper-knife in cutting up and honey-sipping a new book.

Messrs. Carter and Crutchley have written, p. 118:

> Though the extended use of machinery has long made the trimming knife, or plough, a commonplace of binding machinery, some publishers still persist in the affectation of unopened edges. For those readers condemned (usually at extra,

rather than less, cost in the purchase of the book) to rectify this omission, an ivory paper-knife is recommended; and it seems necessary to state that neither a finger nor a hairpin is a suitable substitute.

The editors recommend that "the dust jacket, which quickly becomes soiled and tattered, should be discarded immediately"; and add that "its preservation is a matter of concern only to the omnivorous librarian on the one hand and the more fanatical collectors of modern first editions on the other." It may be suggested, however, that dust jackets are usually interesting and sometimes artistic. They frequently contain illustrations not repeated within the covers of the books they protect. And publishers expend a good deal of thought and money on their preparation. If they are discarded by all except the omnivorous and fanatical gentlemen noted above, the jacketed copies of the latter will be relatively rarer and more valuable. I suggest that the book buyer think twice before throwing away a jacket.

G. L. M.

McKay, George L. *A Register of Artists, Engravers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, Printers & Publishers in New York City, 1633-1820.* New York: The New York Public Library, 1942. 78 pp. Front. (map). 10 x 7 inches. $1.25.

Since little in bibliography is front-page news, few laymen realize its scope and scientific character. The subject demands a precise knowledge of the history of printing and related graphic arts and is not merely a discussion of points, errors, issues. In approach and method, bibliography is one more science, and any publication which proves this is especially timely.

Like a chemist listing the components of a single compound, Mr. McKay has prepared a register of the individuals and firms associated with the graphic arts in New York City from 1633 to 1820. He has examined the city directories and newspapers; he has sifted such works as Evans, Brigham, Stauffer, and the *Union List of Serials* for additional material. The result is a register containing some twenty-two hundred names, approximately seven thousand addresses with dates, and appropriate notes about the magazines and newspapers. Mr. McKay has given us an intrinsically useful bibliographical tool which will help in dating undated material of the first two centuries of New York's artistic history.

Glancing over the pages of this register, the bibliographer feels as if he had just found a long-lost address book. Here, in order, are the locations of such old friends as Fanshaw, Gaine, Rivington, T. and J. Swords, and

the Zengers. Here also is source material to stimulate thinking about their neglected colleagues. Did the Bruces, for example, dissolve partnership earlier than we thought? 1822 is the date usually given, but the register shows separate addresses after 1816. Did Thomas Kirk's Brooklyn plant continue between 1802 and 1811? There are no Brooklyn addresses in the register between these years, but he printed a New Testament there in 1805. What happened to Francis Shields after 1813? Did this man, "printer's smith" and probably the first to practice stereotyping in this country, die about that time or did he move to some other city? These are only a few of the problems which stir the bibliographer.

This register is, of course, compiled with the accuracy and meticulous care we have learned to expect when Mr. McKay's name appears on a title-page. Misprints in the directories are scrupulously noted. Names are completely cross-indexed. Any suggestions for a future edition are, therefore, editorial rather than critical. The relationship between William and Andrew Bradford might have been pointed out since they did print some books together; the official title of the association of New York bookbinders was New-York Friendly Association of Master Book-Binders; the Sower of Sower, Morton and Horner might be distinguished more easily as Christopher Sower III.

It is to be hoped that this volume will establish a pattern for future work, work which will have a similarly happy conclusion for Boston and Philadelphia and which will continue to advance the rigorous discipline of bibliography.

Rollo G. Silver

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* published *quarterly* at *New York, N. Y.*, for *October 1, 1941.*

STATE OF *New York* }
COUNTY OF *New York* } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared *George L. McKay*, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the *editor* of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

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Editor *George L. McKay*	*47 East 60th Street, New York, N. Y.*
Managing Editor *George L. McKay*	*47 East 60th Street, New York, N. Y.*
Business Manager *George L. McKay*	*47 East 60th Street, New York, N. Y.*

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is: *Not required.*

(Signed) GEORGE L. MCKAY, *Editor.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of October, 1941.

(Signed) D. C. HOWE, *Notary Public.*

[SEAL.] (My commission expires March 30, 1943.)